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I.—THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN  
WESTMINSTER, VT.

*A Sermon preached at Westminster, on the eleventh of June, 1867, the One hundredth Anniversary of the Organization of the Church.*

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The hundred years during which this church has had existence, have constituted the most memorable century in the history of the world; with the sole exception of that in which Christ came from heaven to earth to make atonement for the sins of men. Events of unparalleled magnitude have succeeded each other with unprecedented rapidity, "as if," to use the language of an eminent Scotch writer, "they had come "under the influence of that law of gravitation, by "which falling bodies increase in speed as they descend, according to the squares of the distances." Within that period, our own country has emerged from the condition of a weak and dependent colony, has passed through one long and bloody war to achieve a national existence, and a tenfold bloodier one to preserve that existence and make it worth preserving; and, having extended its territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and increased its population from less than three millions to more than thirty-three, it stands to-day equal to any of the empires of the other continent, if not superior to the greatest of them in all that constitutes true greatness. In the Southern half of this continent, in Europe, and in Asia, political revolutions, almost as remarkable as our own, have taken place within the same period.

More important than these changes, which have not been accomplished without confused noise and garments rolled in blood, have been the revolutions that have taken place in the departments of science and the practical arts, of social life, education, literature, and civil and religious progress. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," and the peaceful victories that have been achieved within a century have

surpassed in number, magnitude and importance, those of any preceding century since time began. The application of steam-power to the purposes of traveling, manufacturing, and especially of printing,—the employment of electro magnetism in the telegraph—the discovery of chloroform and other anæsthetic agents—the improvements in the art of printing—not to mention a multitude of other inventions, discoveries, and improvements, have made the world so different from what it was a century, or even half a century ago, that it can hardly be recognized as the same. Within a century, too, has arisen that brilliant constellation of societies for the spread of the gospel, the Missionary Societies, Bible Societies, Tract Societies, and their kindred associations, in Europe and America, through whose agency the news of salvation has been made known in regions gloomy with the shades of death, and millions of the most degraded of the human race have been enabled to read in their own tongues the wonderful works of God. More than all, it has been a century of revivals. We search the history of the Church in vain for any record of such frequent and powerful effusions of the Holy Spirit as have been experienced within the memory of some in this audience.

What a privilege it is to have lived in such a period. How much greater the privilege and the honor to have had any agency, however humble, in carrying forward any part of so noble a work. What cause for gratitude to God has this Church, not merely that it has had existence for a century, but that it has existed in such a century, and has been identified to some extent with the great movements of "such a time as this."

Not to dwell longer upon the general subject, though the theme is a fascinating one,—we come to that which is the specific duty, and enjoyment too, of this hour; to "call to remembrance the former days," in which the fathers of this Church laid the foundations of many generations, and to put on record the facts of its history as fully and accurately as the materials at our disposal will enable us to do. It is to be regretted that the records for nearly the whole first quarter of the century long since disappeared, and that the

lack of them can be but partially supplied by less authoritative documents and by tradition.

As long ago as 1736, the first steps were taken for the establishment of the institutions of the Gospel in this place. In that year, the legislature of Massachusetts, supposing that its jurisdiction extended as far North as this, and much farther, granted "Township Number One," as it was then called, to a number of persons resident in various towns in Massachusetts and Connecticut. By the terms of the charter, the grantees were required to build and furnish, within three years, "a convenient meeting-house for the public worship of God, and settle a learned orthodox minister." In June 1737, a highway, ten rods wide, was surveyed and located on a line coincident with that of the main street in this village, and extending Northwardly till it struck the river, a burying-ground was established on the land now occupied for that purpose, "and the meeting-house platt is fixed in the middle of the aforesaid ten rods highway right again, at the twenty-fourth lott," where in fact a house was afterwards built. A few persons moved into the wilderness and began a settlement, but the establishment of the Northern boundary of Massachusetts so far South as to leave Number One out of that State discouraged the settlers, and the breaking out of the Cape Breton war led them entirely to abandon the enterprise. In 1751 the settlement of the town was again attempted, and in 1754 or '5 it was again abandoned, for fear of the Indians who had recently made an attack upon Charlestown, N. H., and carried several of its inhabitants into captivity. It was not till 1761 that such measures were taken as secured a permanent settlement. From that time the population rapidly increased, and at the expiration of ten years Westminster was the most populous town in Eastern Vermont.

This Church was organized 11 June, 1767, by a council consisting of representatives of the churches in Charlestown, Keene, Walpole, Westmoreland, and Winchester, New Hampshire; Northfield, and Warwick, Massachusetts; and Abington, Connecticut. Of the three hundred persons, or more, who then constituted the population of the town, only nine were found ready to be constituted a Church, and, singular to say, not one of these was a woman.\* Among the constituent members were Ephraim Ranney and John Sessions; who were afterwards (4 May, 1769,) elected deacons, and held that office, the former for thirty-three years, and the latter for nearly fifty-three years. The memory of them both is still fragrant in the Church, and Deacon

Ranney has special claims to remembrance as the ancestor of seven preachers of the Gospel, of as many more members of the other learned professions, and of numerous deacons. Among the constituent members was ~~the~~ Jesse Goodell, who on the same day was ordained pastor of the little flock.\* He remained ~~as~~ in the pastorate "between two and three years," during which period fifteen persons united ~~by~~ by profession and sixteen by letter or by certificate, increasing the number of members to forty, of whom half were males and half females. ~~at~~ He lived in a house on "the Wall lot," a few rods North of the present residence of Josiah Davis, and the only building in the town whose four sides faced the four cardinal points. Tradition says that he abandoned his pastorate without a formal dismissal, and that he left town secretly, under charges seriously affecting his moral character.

Mr. Goodell was brought up in Abington, Connecticut, was graduated at Yale in 1761, and was licensed by the Hartford North Association, 4 October, 1763. After leaving Westminster he was in the Revolutionary Army, but in what capacity is not known. He died in 1779.

In 1769 a house of worship was raised, and during that and the following year it was so far advanced as to be capable of occupancy. It stood in the centre of the highway, directly East of its present site. By what means the needful funds were procured does not appear. It is evident, however, that the resources of those who engaged in the enterprise were but scanty, and depended wholly upon voluntary contributions. For a long term of years it remained in an unfinished condition. The underpinning was not sufficient to prevent sheep from going under the house for shelter, and as the floor was of loose boards, the noise of the animals beneath sometimes mingled discordantly with the singing and preaching above. The desk of the minister and the seats of the congregation were rude and inconvenient in the extreme; and whatever other virtues might fail to receive cultivation, the patience and endurance of the worshippers were subjected to very salutary discipline. In this connection it is well to finish what needs to be said in regard to completing the house. By an act of the legislature passed in 1781, towns were authorized to levy taxes upon the land, for the purpose of building houses of worship. It is not to be in-

\*The exercises of the ordination were as follows: Rev. Micah Lawrence of Winchester, N. H., made the opening prayer, Rev. Mr. Hedge, of ~~the~~ made the [ordaining?] prayer before the charge to the pastor, Rev. Bulkley Olcott of Charlestown, N. H. gave the charge, Rev. Clement Sumner of Keene, made the prayer after the charge, and Rev. Thomas Fessenden of Walpole, gave the right hand of fellowship. It does not appear that any sermon was preached on the occasion. If there was, it was probably preached by the candidate himself, as was the custom a century ago.

\*These nine persons were Jesse Goodell, William Willard, Ephraim Ranney, Bildad Andros, John Sessions, Dan Dickinson, Zachariah Gilson, John French, Azariah Dickinson.

ferred from this, that the legislators of that day surpassed those of the present time in love for religious institutions and desire to advance them. On the contrary, they designed by this law mainly to promote the more rapid settlement of towns, and increase the value of the lands, and this design was expressly recognized in the preamble of the statute. In 1783, at a session held in Westminster, the legislature went still farther, and authorized towns or parishes not only to build meeting-houses, but also to support the preaching of the gospel, by taxes assessed, as well upon the polls and other ratable estate of the inhabitants as upon the lands. Under this statute, familiarly known as the ministerial act, the town and the parish were identical, and all the property was liable to contribute for religious purposes, according to the vote of the majority.

There is no evidence that this town took any decided action under the ministerial act till 1788. At that time the meeting-house was still unpainted, unglazed, and only partially provided with pews. At a meeting held 23 June, 1788, the parish voted to receive the house from "the 'ancient proprietors,'" on condition that they should pay all debts outstanding on its account, and execute a conveyance of all their title. A tax of ten pence on the pound, on the list of 1788, "payable in beef, at twenty shillings per hundred, "wheat at five shillings per bushel, and other "grain equivalent, or money," was assessed for the purpose of finishing the house. In April, 1789, the parish voted to give Hon. Stephen R. Bradley the pew on the right hand of the pulpit, on condition that he should procure glass enough to glaze the house, by the first day of August then next. This condition not being complied with, the time was subsequently lengthened till 1 May, 1791, but the glazing was not actually completed till 1798, when the proceeds of the sale of four pews were appropriated to that purpose. In the spring of 1789, a contract was made with Asa Gage to finish the house, for the sum of £175 "lawful money, to be paid in wheat "at five shillings per bushel, beef at twenty shillings per hundred, or other grain or neat stock "in that proportion;" and a tax of nine pence on the pound on the grand list was assessed, payable in such specific articles, for the purpose of meeting the contract. Mr. Gage completed his undertaking, but the parish failed to pay him at the appointed time, and he prosecuted his demand to judgment and execution, which occasioned the parish a good deal of annoyance and trouble.

For several years the body of the house was not divided into pews, but was furnished with long seats, holding five or six persons each. From time to time, as the means of the parish allowed and convenience required, the seats were

replaced by pews till the floor was covered. It was voted, 3 January, 1793, "to make two pews, "one each side of the broad alley of the seats," and to rent six pews which had previously been made. At the same time it was voted "to give "Mr. Jonathan Kittridge fifteen shillings in cash, "to sweep the meeting-house and take care of the "pall and keys, for one year," and Lieut. Zachariah Gilson and Ensign Asa Averill were chosen "to take care and clear the meeting-house "of dogs on the Sabbath according to their dis- "cretion." It does not appear when the house finally assumed the condition of a finished structure, within and without, but it could not have been far from 1800. Externally, the house is still what it was at the first, save only as the storms of nearly a century have left their marks upon it. It were a good thing to keep it well repaired and let it stand as a perpetual memorial of the toils, and sacrifices, and self-denials, which our forefathers cheerfully endured that they might have a house in which to worship God. Its timbers are sound and its joints are strong, and, special providences excepted, there is nothing to prevent it from lasting till the millenium, and then being occupied again, and by larger congregations than ever assembled in it in the former days.

The interior of the house has been changed so completely, that a description of its former state will be interesting to the present generation. From the front door an aisle ran through the center of the house, and upon each side of the aisle was a block of pews, eight in number, four opening upon the central aisle and four upon another aisle parallel with it. A row of pews ran around the house, broken, however, into four divisions by the entrance-ways on the north, south and east, and the pulpit on the West. The pews were a step higher than the aisles, and this was not seldom a step of stumbling to the unwary. They were large square pens, built up as high as the head of the occupants, and within them wooden seats ran around the four sides, with only a single break for the door. A pew would accommodate from twelve to sixteen persons—they had patriarchal families in those days—and by the arrangement just mentioned, a part of them must needs sit with their backs to the minister. These were, of course, the children, who being thus under the double watch of their parents' eyes and the minister's, could hardly fail to be becomingly subdued. The seats were hung upon hinges, and were turned up when the congregation rose in prayer, and let down again at the end of the prayer, not without a bang and clatter which greatly delighted the little ones. The pews nearest the pulpit were the first built, and were occupied by those whose social rank was the highest. Gen. Stephen R. Bradley sat in the

wall-pew next the pulpit on the right hand of the minister, and John Norton, with his numerous daughters, had the corresponding pew on the left. The front pew on the right of the central aisle was "the minister's pew," and directly opposite was the pew of Hon. Mark Richards.

The pulpit was on the West side of the house, high up the wall, and access to it was by a flight of several stairs. Over it was a huge "sounding board," apparently upheld so slightly as to occasion continual fear in the minds of children lest it should come down with a crash on the minister's head. At the foot of the pulpit was the "deacon's seat," a long, narrow enclosure, the occupants of which paid dearly for the honor of their place by the cramped and inconvenient position they were obliged to maintain. The minister occupied a part of this seat when a child was to be baptized or the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was to be administered. Upon three sides of the house was a gallery, to which ascent was made from the entry-way of the North and South wings. Around the gallery and next to the wall was a row of pews similar to those below, and in front of these were two rows of hard wooden seats. It is hardly necessary to add that, both above and below, the aisles and pews were uncarpeted, and the seats uncushioned, and that for many years there was no means of warming it, even in the coldest days of winter. This was the house in which our fathers worshipped, a house rude and uncomfortable, according to modern notions, but hallowed by many precious memories, and to be held in everlasting remembrance by not a few souls, as the place in which they were born again, of water and of the Spirit.

This account of the meeting-house has taken us many years in advance of the main current of discourse, and we now return to the point of departure, namely, the year 1769. After Mr. Goodell's leaving, there was no settled pastor, and probably no stated preaching for about five years. During that period only five persons were added to the church. Rev. Joseph Bullen was ordained pastor 6 July, 1774, and sustained that relation about eleven years, during which period forty-six persons were added to the church. He was born in Sutton, Mass., was graduated at Yale, 1772, and married Hannah Morse, a relative of the inventor of the telegraph. He was a man of learning, talent, and piety, a fine writer, and a clear, sensible, and instructive, though not eloquent preacher. His usefulness, however, while in Westminster, was much impaired by his devotion to money-getting. He kept a store, manufactured potash, speculated in land, and was considered quite shrewd enough at a bargain. Having acquired a large quantity of wild land in Athens, he removed there in 1785 or soon after; the relation between him and the church being informally

dissolved, by his asking a dismission, the church granting it, and his certifying in writing, 26 September, 1785, that he accepted the dismission and released the church from all obligations to him. In 1788 and 1791, he was the representative of Athens in the Legislature of Vermont. For several years he preached in that town, with little or no compensation, and in 1797 his labors resulted in the organization of a Congregational church, of which he and his wife were two of the eleven constituent members. Soon after that, he was appointed by the New York Missionary Society a missionary to the Chickasaw Indians, among whom he established a mission near where the town of Pontotoc, Miss., is located. In 1803, he settled near Uniontown, Miss., and there organized a Presbyterian church, the first Protestant church in that State. There and in that vicinity, he labored for about twenty years, preaching the Gospel and establishing churches. Like Paul, at Corinth, he for the most part "made the 'Gospel of Christ without charge,'" his salary, for preaching half the time to the church near which he lived, being only fifty-five dollars annually; in view of which it may well be questioned whether his shrewdness at a bargain ought not to be regarded with a good degree of charity. Having labored in the ministry more than fifty years, he died at an advanced age in 1825. He was the first Protestant minister who settled permanently in Mississippi, and the first Moderator of the Presbytery of that State. His only publication was a sermon preached before the General Assembly of Vermont in 1783.\*

After Mr. Bullen's dismission, an interregnum of nearly five years took place, during which there were several candidates for settlement, whose names have not been preserved. Five persons only were added during this period. The church and parish concurred in a vote, 24 June, 1790, calling Mr. Sylvester Sage to the pastorate, with a salary of one hundred pounds, lawful money, and thirty cords of good fire wood, the money part of the salary "to be paid one quarter in money, and the residue in wheat at five shillings per bushel, or other grain equivalent." This call was accepted, and the ordination took place 13 October, 1790.† At that time the

\* An apocryphal and highly embellished account of a case of discipline which occurred during Mr. Bullen's pastorate, may be found in Graham's *Descriptive Sketch of the Present State of Vermont*, pages 111-115, and is repeated with variations, in Hall's *History of Eastern Vermont*, pages 732-738. It must be taken *cum grano salis*.

† The churches represented in the council were those in Marlboro, Putney, and Rockingham, Vermont; Charlestown, Keene, and Walpole, New Hampshire; Berlin, Connecticut, and Granville, Massachusetts. The exercises were as follows: Rev. Aaron J. Booge of Granville, (pastor of the candidate's intended wife,) offered the Opening Prayer; Rev. Nathan Fenn, of Berlin, (pastor of the candidate,) preached the sermon; Rev. Bulkley Olcott, of Charlestown, offered the Ordaining Prayer; Rev. Thomas Fessenden, of Walpole, gave the Charge (to the pastor);

church consisted of thirty-two male and thirty-seven female members, sixty-nine in all. Considering the state of the times, and the disadvantages under which the church had labored, this was a large growth to have attained. From 1767 to 1790 the country was in a state of violent agitation, being involved first in war, with its exciting, impoverishing, and demoralizing influences, and then in sharp political conflicts occasioned by laying the foundations of the government. It was a transition period, in the affairs of which it was necessary to expend time and toil, and treasure. The State of Vermont had the additional agitation of the long conflict with New York and the struggle for admission into the Union; and some of the most exciting events in that conflict took place in Westminster. That, under all these adverse circumstances, the church made such progress, is good evidence that it was a vine of God's own right hand's planting and preserving. Its growth, however, had been the result of immigration and addition by letter, more than of conversion and profession; and such it continued to be, the additions by profession during the seventeen years which constituted the first period of Mr. Sage's ministry, averaging only about three a year.

In 1794-5, the peace of the church was much disturbed by a case of discipline, not especially important of itself, but made important by the stubbornness with which the offending member resisted, and by the extensive publicity given to the case in the periodicals of the time.\* One of the female members had been led to become a believer in Universalism, by her brother, who was one of the early preachers of the doctrine. She absented herself not only from the Lord's table, but also from public meeting, and in various ways showed contempt of the church and its ordinances. For more than six months the church and community were agitated by the proceedings necessary to adjust the difficulty. Numerous church meetings were held, into some of which, persons not members of the church intruded themselves and attempted to take part in the defense of the delinquent. The excitement was made more intense by her own tears and passionate exclamations, which sometimes rendered it difficult for them to proceed. After six months of patience and forbearance on the one hand, and of unyielding obduracy on the other, a sentence of excommunication ended the case. The pastor, giving the most literal application to the teaching of the apostle,—“with such an one, no,

“not to eat”—afterward felt it his duty not to sit at the table with her, even though visiting at her house.

In 1793 the members residing in the West parish requested to be organized as a separate church; and in view of the great inconvenience to which they were subjected in attending the ordinances of the Gospel, their reasonable request was granted. This movement was a permanent benefit to the cause of Christ, as well as to the persons directly concerned in it; but its immediate effects upon this church were injurious. The removal of thirty or more members not only weakened the church numerically and morally, but seriously diminished the pecuniary resources upon which reliance could be placed for the support of religious institutions. The difficulty of raising the salary of the pastor was greatly increased by an act of the Legislature passed in 1801. Until that date every person was by law “considered as being of opinion with the major part of the inhabitants of the town in which he dwelt,” and liable to be assessed on his grand list for the support of such preaching as the majority desired, unless he should procure and exhibit to the town clerk a certificate, signed by some minister, deacon, or elder, that he belonged to some other specified denomination.\* In contemplation of law, every man had some religious preference, and was bound to contribute, according to his ability, to support the institutions of the Gospel. But in 1801, a statute was enacted, allowing any person to relieve himself from liability to support the established preaching, by delivering to the town clerk a certificate signed by himself, that he did not agree in religious opinion with a majority of the inhabitants. Nor were the opponents of “the standing order” satisfied, till they procured the passage of a law in 1807, divesting towns of all power to assess taxes for the building of meeting-houses or the support of ministers, and leaving every person to decide for himself, whether he would contribute anything, and, if anything, how much, for those purposes. It was greatly feared that this law would prove disastrous to the cause of religion, and it did temporarily embarrass and discourage many churches.† How much effect the law had upon the ability of the parish to pay Mr. Sage's salary is not to be known, but there can be no doubt that it was much more difficult to raise the salary under the new law than under the old. In April, 1805, Mr. Sage requested a dismissal, but the parish unanimously declined to comply. Two

Rev. Aaron Hall, of Keene, gave the Right Hand of Fellowship, and Rev. Gershom C. Lyman, of Marlboro, offered the Concluding Prayer. The parish paid 21. 15s. 4d. for the board of Mr. Sage and the council at the time of ordination.

\* *Farmer's Weekly Museum*, 2 June, and 7 July, 1795, and *Vermont Repository*, June, 1795.

\* *Compiled Statutes of Vermont*, 1790, page 203.

† When a similar change in the laws of Connecticut was pending, Rev. Lyman Beecher preached one of his most powerful and eloquent sermons, deprecating the plan of leaving religion to voluntary support, as one that would inevitably open the flood-gates of ruin upon the State,

years afterwards, he renewed the request, a majority of the parish voted to grant it, the church reluctantly concurred, and he was dismissed 19 May, 1807. During his pastorate, ninety-five persons were added to the church, of whom fifty-six united by profession, and thirty-nine by letter.

Soon after Mr. Sage's dismissal, Rev. Jason Chamberlain, afterwards Professor in the University of Vermont, commenced preaching as a candidate for settlement, and supplied the pulpit for several months. In 1808 Rev. Mr. Beardsley preached some months as a candidate. Early in May, 1809, negotiations were commenced with Mr. Sage to induce him to resume the pastorate, and in the following August he was engaged to act as pastor for the term of ten years, his salary being payable half in cash and half in grain at cash price. Without the formality of an installation, he thus entered upon a pastorate which continued for twenty-nine years. For several years preceding and following the commencement of Mr. Sage's second pastorate, a very low state of religion prevailed, and it was not till 1810 that any change for the better took place. This had its origin, so far as means were concerned, chiefly in the earnest and diligent labors of a young man who united with the church in January of that year. He was a recent convert in a powerful revival at Middlebury, where he was a student in college. With all the warmth and zeal of a first love, he endeavored to arouse Christians to a sense of their duty, and to lead sinners to the Saviour. A marked increase of religious interest took place, and though it did not amount to what would be called a revival, the spirituality of the church was greatly promoted, and ten or twelve persons were hopefully converted. Two of those who united with the church at this time, the young man just mentioned and his brother,\* became ministers of the Gospel, and their praise is still in many of the churches in Vermont, New Hampshire and Connecticut. Among the converts in that revival were two women, whose names are entitled to be mentioned—Mrs. Lucy Lovejoy and Mrs. Roxanna Goodrich. These women, with Mrs. Olive Reed and Mrs. Lusk, established in 1812 a female prayer-meeting. The first meeting was held at Mrs. Goodrich's on the very spot where this house stands, a spot thus consecrated by the prayers of faithful Christian women a quarter of a century before it became the site of a house of worship. This prayer-meeting was continued, with occasional interruptions, till 1829, when the brethren were admitted to it and it became "the Saturday evening prayer-meeting," which has remained one of the institutions of the church to this day.

It would seem that a similar awakening occurred in 1816, but no facts in regard to it can be ascertained, except that on the last Sabbath of October in that year, twelve persons united with the church by profession. In 1825 more than usual religious interest existed, and seventeen persons united with the church. With the exception of these two seasons of awakening, there was almost nothing in the history of the church from 1812 to 1830, of sufficient importance to deserve recording. The annual additions were few, and were nearly or quite balanced by removals and deaths. It was not until 1831 that any such spiritual blessings were received as added largely to the church, both in numbers and in grace. That was a year of revival throughout the American churches; the year, indeed, in which revivals of the modern type were first experienced. It was the era of protracted meetings, anxious seats, and other new measures, from which new and large results were obtained. This church, not without some misgivings on the part of the pastor and many judicious Christians, adopted the new measures, and gained by them perhaps as much good and as little harm and loss, as it was reasonable to have expected. During the Fall of 1831 Sabbath evening meetings were held alternately on the plain and the upper street, and in connection with them were held inquiry meetings which were largely attended. On the 15th of November a protracted meeting commenced, and was continued for four days. Rev. Timothy Field of Westminster West, preached the opening sermon—from the text—"Prepare to meet thy 'God,'" a plain, pungent, and powerful discourse. Rev. Jonathan McGee of West Brattleboro, Rev. Uzziah C. Burnap of Chester, Rev. Benjamin A. Pitman of Putney, Rev. Elihu Smith of Chesterfield, N. H., and several other ministers preached during the progress of the meeting. The style of the preaching was for the most part hortatory; and while it awakened Christians, and sent conviction into the hearts of many sinners, it also aroused the anger and bitter opposition of the enemies of truth and righteousness. There was great excitement both in the church and out of it, and the effects of the movement were felt for several years. One of the immediate results was the addition of twenty-five persons to the church, many of whom remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. Among these last is "the beloved physician,"\* whose mortal remains we followed yesterday to the grave, sorrowing that we should no more behold his face in the flesh, yet rejoicing that his ransomed spirit is with God whom he served and with Christ in whom he trusted. Perhaps even now he is looking down upon us from the upper world, and his affection-

\* Seth S. Arnold and Joel R. Arnold,

\* Dea. Pliny Safford, M.D.

ate heart glows with joy at beholding the jubilee of the church which he loved.

This revival gave origin and impulse to several benevolent and reformatory movements, the most important of which was the organization of a temperance society. The evils of intemperance had been severely felt, not only in the community at large, but also in the church, where it had occasioned several painful cases of discipline, ending in excommunication, as well as some disciplinary proceedings which fell short of that result. It became apparent that some special effort must be made to arrest the evil, and in the winter of 1832-3 a temperance society was organized of which Dea. Pliny Safford was President, Michael Gilson, Vice President, Erastus A. Holton, Secretary, and Zacheus Cole, Treasurer. In regard to the success of this movement, a resident of the town wrote in July, 1833, as follows:—"The temperance cause flourishes here beyond "our most sanguine expectations. At our last "meeting our society numbered one hundred and "ten. We have three temperance stores and one "temperance tavern. There is no store in town "where ardent spirits are kept, but there are two "taverns that yet keep it." It soon became the practice of the church not to receive as members any persons whose piety was not sufficient to restrain them from the use of intoxicating liquors, and in January 1839, it was declared by a formal vote, "that in the present light of the temperance reform, and of Divine Inspiration, it is "not expedient to receive any members to this "church who make, vend, or use distilled liquors "as a beverage." In 1842, another step in advance was taken by the organization of a society which interdicted the use of alcoholic liquors of every kind, distilled or fermented. Under the auspices of this society the total abstinence question received a very thorough discussion throughout the community, temperance meetings were held at the meeting-house for several successive days, and for some months there was hardly a Sabbath evening on which there was not a temperance meeting in some school-house in the parish. Though this was regarded by some as "an "intemperate agitation of the subject of temperance," it is believed that the good effects of that agitation are felt to this very day.

The revival of 1831 was the occasion also, though indirectly, of the building of the meeting-house now occupied by the church. It drew the dividing line between the church and the world far deeper than it had ever been drawn before, and it inflamed to violent hostility many persons who had been merely indifferent to the church till it assumed the attitude of an aggressive body. Their hostility showed itself mainly by proceedings calculated to embarrass the church in the occupancy of the meeting-house. They obtained

the control of the parish meetings, established a distinction between the parish and "Mr. Sage's society," and in April, 1834, voted that Mr. Sage's society were not entitled to occupy the house more than three-fourths of the time, and that for the other fourth there should be a "liberal" preaching. "Liberal" preaching was accordingly maintained on the 2d Sabbath in each month for a few years, and in the meantime the church took measures to build a house that should be wholly their own. This house was completed in the fall of 1835, and was dedicated 18 November 1835. In connection with the dedication, a three days' meeting was held, at which there was preaching by several ministers, but the opposition was so great that the meetings were somewhat thinly attended and no conversions took place. Some of the leading men in town positively refused to enter the new house even on the Sabbath day, and it was feared that the new house, though much smaller than the old one, would be too large to be filled by any congregation that could be induced to worship in it. Those fears, however, were not realized, and subsequent events have fully demonstrated the wisdom of our fathers in deciding that a small house well filled is every way to be preferred to a large house half filled.

Having preached the Gospel nearly half a century, and being now burdened with the infirmities of threescore and ten, Mr. Sage decided to close his labors with this church, and, on the last Sabbath in April 1838, he preached his farewell sermon from Phil. 1:27. It is suitable that a somewhat extended account should be given of one who served God and his generation so long and faithfully. Mr. Sage was born in Berlin, Conn., 24 January 1765, a son of Deacon Jedediah and Sarah (Marcy) Sage. He was graduated at Yale College, in 1787, studied theology with Rev. Cyprian Strong, D.D. of Chatham, and was licensed by the Hartford South Association in June 1788. In 1790, he preached in Shelburne, Mass., as a candidate for settlement, and on the question of giving him a call, the church was equally divided; twenty-two voting for the call, and twenty-two against it. From Shelburne he came directly to Westminster. He married, 20 January 1791, Orpah Robinson of Granville, Mass., of whom, however, he was deprived by death, 18 February, 1792; and he married, as a second wife, 7 January 1793, Clarrissa May, youngest daughter of Rev. Eleazer May of Haddam, Conn.\* After his dismissal here he went to Braintree, Mass., and was there installed as colleague with Rev. Ezra Weld, 4 November 1807. Rev. Hezekiah May, of Marblehead, preached the sermon. The climate of the seaboard prov-

\* She died 16 December 1836.

ing unfavorable to Mrs. Sage's health, he resigned the pastorate and was dismissed 4 May 1809. His ministry there had continued a year and a half to a day, and his farewell sermon was from the appropriate text: "and he continued there a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them." Acts 18:11. From Braintree he returned to Westminster, and here he remained till his death, which took place 21 January 1841.

When in the prime of life Mr. Sage was a man of mark. His personal appearance was prepossessing to an unusual degree. Indeed, he was a model of manly beauty. He had an almost perfect form, of full size, erect and symmetrical, and his movements were at once graceful and dignified. His features were regular and the expression which habitually rested upon them was that of kindness and benignity. It was said of him by one of his ministerial brethren,—"If the epithet *handsome* were allowable to be applied to men, no one deserved it more than Mr. Sage." He was very neat in person, and tasteful in dress, and in everything that relates to appearance he was absolutely faultless. He possessed fine social qualities, and in conversation was easy, agreeable and familiar, indulging occasionally in innocent pleasantry, but always preserving the quiet dignity becoming the position which he occupied. In the fullest sense of the word, he was a Christian gentleman.

Intellectually, he held a good standing. His mind, like his body, was sound and well balanced. If he was not so acutely metaphysical or so profoundly logical as some of his neighbors in the ministry, he had a clearness of perception of Divine truth and an ability to make that truth plain to others, in which he was not surpassed, if indeed he was equalled by any of them. In the pulpit his appearance was commanding. His enunciation was deliberate and distinct, his manner solemn and impressive. His sermons were distinguished for clear statement, sound thought, orderly arrangement, purity of language, and neatness of style. In doctrine he was strictly evangelical. While some of his associates in the ministry were lax in their theology, he preached the pure doctrines of the Gospel, with an earnestness which was inspired by the unwavering conviction that they, and they alone, are able to make wise unto salvation. He answered to the letter, Cowper's description of a preacher, such as Paul, were he on earth, would hear, approve and own—

—“Simple, grave, sincere;

“In doctrine uncorrect, in language plain,  
“And plain in manner, decent, solemn, chaste,  
“And natural in gesture; much impressed  
“Himself, as conscious of his awful charge,  
“And anxious mainly that the flock he feeds  
“May feel it too; affectionate in looks,  
“And tender in address, as well becomes  
“A messenger of grace to guilty men.”

Mr. Sage's reputation as a preacher was such that he was frequently invited to preach on special occasions. In 1803 he preached the “election sermon” before the Governor and Legislature of Vermont. He preached at the installation of Rev. Jesse Townshend at Durham, N. Y., in 1798, and at the ordinations of Rev. William Hall, at Grafton, Vt., and Rev. Ephraim H. Newton, at Marlboro, in 1814, of Rev. Seth S. Arnold, at Alstead, N. H., in 1816, of Rev. Jonathan Nye, at Claremont, in 1821, and, doubtless, on other similar occasions that have not come to my knowledge. His farewell sermon at Braintree, his election sermon, and his sermon at the installation of Rev. Jesse Townshend, were given to the press.

On the 1st Sabbath in May 1838, Rev. Seth S. Arnold began to labor as acting pastor, with the understanding that he would give place to an acceptable candidate for settlement, whenever such a one should appear. The state of religion was very low, and the general aspect of affairs discouraging. But man's extremity became God's opportunity. Christians betook themselves to Him with deep humiliation and fervent prayer, and he had regard for them in their low estate. In the latter part of November 1838, a series of meetings began to be held in the afternoon and evening, and continued two weeks. During the first week, Rev. A. D. Barber, of Saxton's River was present, and preached with great pungency and power. It soon became apparent that the Holy Spirit was giving unwonted efficacy to the means of grace. The meetings were in general very quiet and devoid of mere animal excitement, while at the same time the souls both of Christians and of awakened sinners were moved with the most intense emotions. The number of hopeful conversions attributed to this revival was between sixty and seventy; insomuch that the aged ex-pastor, seeing this abundant upspringing of the precious seed which he had so long gone forth to sow in tears, must need have felt, and doubtless said,—“Lord, “now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, “for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation.” Among the converts in this revival was Erastus A. Holton, who afterwards employed in the service of God a large measure of the remarkable energy and business ability with which he had before served the world, and whose abundant labors in the causes of temperance and Sabbath Schools, entitle him to be held in long and grateful remembrance. As the results mainly of this work of grace, forty-one persons united with the church in 1839. Some of them still live and are pillars in this church or others, some have gone to their account, and some did run well for a season, but were hindered.

In 1839 Mr. Aaron R. Livermore preached as

a candidate for settlement, and to so good acceptance that the church and society gave him a call to the pastorate. He accepted the call, a day was fixed for his ordination, and letters missive to convene a council were called; but while the church, with unusual harmony, and increasing interest in the pastor elect, was looking forward to receiving him as pastor, he withdrew his acceptance and requested a release from the engagement. A few months after this unhappy experience, a call was given to Mr. Calvin R. Batchelder, with an offered salary of \$450, which he accepted, and the ordination took place 22 April 1840.\* A low state of religion prevailed for nearly three years, but in February 1843, an interesting work of grace commenced, and continued for some weeks. This work was a marked illustration of the truth that "the kingdom of 'God cometh not by observation.'" Without the use of any but the ordinary means of grace, and while to all appearance an unusual coldness prevailed in the church, it was found at a Saturday evening prayer-meeting that an unusual number of non-professors of religion were present, some of whom were in an inquiring state. The interest deepened and extended, but was confined almost entirely to the young, nor were the reviving influences of the Spirit felt in the church, in a measure at all proportionate to what was experienced by them that were without. Desire for the conversion of souls seemed to be held in check by the fear of producing an unhealthy excitement. With the exception of an inquiry-meeting and an additional weekly prayer-meeting, none but the usual means of grace were employed, and in about two months the interest entirely subsided. During the year, seventeen persons, most of them converts in this awakening, and only three of them men, united with the church. After a ministry of about five years, Mr. Batchelder requested a dismissal, and was dismissed 26 February 1845.†

\* The exercises of the ordination were as follows: Invocation and reading the Scriptures by Rev. Broughton White of Putney; Prayer by Rev. Timothy Field of Westminster West; Sermon by Rev. John Wood of Newport, N. H.; Charge to the Pastor by Rev. Charles Walker of Brattleboro; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Abraham Jackson of Walpole, N. H.; Charge to the people by Rev. Jubilee Wellman of Westminster West; Concluding prayer by Rev. S. A. Benton of Saxton's River.

† Rev. Calvin Reddington Batchelder, son of Zechariah and Mary (Knowlton) Batchelder, was born in Wendell, (now Sunapee,) N. H., 9 August 1818. Without taking a collegiate course, he pursued classical and theological studies at Bangor Theological Seminary, where he was graduated in 1838. He was a sound scholar, a faithful pastor, and a good sermonizer. After his dismissal from Westminster, he entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church. From 1847 to 1859 he was rector of St. John's Church, Highgate, during a part of which time he also taught a family school for boys. He was rector of Zion Church, Manchester, from the fall of 1859 to the fall of 1864, and since the last date has resided, with the exception of one year, at Bellows Falls, officiating in Immanuel Church, though not holding in form the office of rector. One of his sons, James E. Batchelder, was a soldier in Co. E, 5th Vermont Regiment and subsequently was appointed a cadet at West Point.

Revs. S. S. Arnold and Isaac Esty, who were then resident members of the church, were engaged to supply the pulpit on alternate Sabbaths, and continued so to do till March 1846, when Rev. William H. Gilbert became a candidate for settlement. He soon received and accepted a unanimous call, (with a salary of \$450,) and was ordained 21 October 1846.\* In view of the low state of religion, the church observed a special day of fasting and prayer 10 December 1846, but without any marked results. For some years, the condition of the church was improved not so much by the addition of new members, as by the exclusion of members who had proved themselves unworthy. Discipline was enforced with commendable strictness. The names of persons who had long been absent and not heard from, or heard from only to their discredit, were erased from the records, and several persons who had departed from the faith or fallen into evil habits were removed by excommunication. These proceedings diminished the membership of the church, but added materially to its real strength. After a pastorate of a little more than four years, Mr. Gilbert requested a dismissal, and was accordingly dismissed 5 March 1851.†

Rev. J. W. Pierce became acting pastor soon after Mr. Gilbert's dismissal, and continued to sustain that relation about two years. He was

\* The exercises were as follows: Invocation and reading the Scriptures by Rev. Edwin S. Wright of Acworth, N. H.; Prayer by Rev. Alfred Stevens of Westminster West; Sermon by Rev. Emerson Davis, D. D. of Westfield, Mass.; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. S. S. Arnold; Charge to the Pastor by Rev. Amos Foster of Putney; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Joseph Chandler of West Brattleboro; Charge to the People by Rev. E. H. Barstow of Walpole, N. H.; Concluding prayer by Rev. A. D. Barber of Saxton's River.

† The council on occasion of Mr. Gilbert's dismissal affirmed as an important principle of the Congregational polity, "that every member of the church is bound by Christian principle and by his covenant obligation to do his part in the pastor's support, and he cannot be released from this obligation. If reasons do not exist sufficient for the pastor's dismissal, they are not sufficient to justify any in withholding support, and any member so withholding should be made a subject of discipline."

Rev. William Hinman Gilbert, son of Ezra and Rebecca (Minor) Gilbert, was born in Weston (now Easton) Conn., 12 February 1817, was graduated at Yale College in 1841, studied theology one year at Andover, and two years at New Haven Theological Seminary, at which last he was graduated in 1845. From 1 April, 1845 to 1 March, 1846, he was acting pastor of the 1st Congregational Church in Haddam, Conn. After his dismissal from Westminster, he spent a few months at Andover, pursuing his studies. He was installed 3 December 1851, pastor in Ashfield, Mass. Rev. George H. Richards of Boston preached the sermon. He was dismissed 27 August 1855, and was installed in Granby, Conn. 2 July 1856. Rev. Jairus Burt of Canton preached the sermon. He closed his labors in Granby, 24 September 1864, to go into the service of the Christian Commission and the American Bible Society among the soldiers, and continued in that service till the close of the war. He was dismissed 1 October 1865, and within a few weeks was appointed agent of the Vermont Bible Society, in which service he still remains.

His published works are a *Farewell Discourse in Ashfield*, 1855; a *Statement of Facts pertaining to the division of the Congregational Church in Ashfield, 1855*; and a *Manual of the Congregational Church in Granby*.

succeeded by Rev. Isaac Esty, who also supplied the pulpit two years, (from the Spring of 1853 to the Spring of 1855.) Rev. Edwin Seabury began his labors as acting pastor 27 May 1855, and closed them 25 April 1858. His salary was six hundred dollars. During his ministry, the present parsonage was purchased and put in good repair, and he began to occupy it 14 October 1856. Rev. Harrison G. Park, began to supply the pulpit 9 May 1858, was called to the pastorate in the following October, with a salary of five hundred dollars, (including the rent of the parsonage at one hundred dollars,) and was installed, 17 November 1858\*. His pastorate was short. He was settled with very little opposition, and was dismissed, with none at all, 13 March 1860.† For fifteen years the membership of the church had now been steadily decreasing. During that period only thirty persons had been admitted, and half of these were by letter; while more than sixty had been removed by death, by dismissal, or by discipline. The tendency was downward, and that at a rapid rate of progress; and but for the interposition of Divine grace, the church could look forward to nothing other than speedy extinction.

The ministry of Rev. Andrew B. Foster, which commenced 1 July 1860, was the means of arresting and reversing the downward current. Without any special effort to produce it, or any preceding tokens of its approach, an unusual degree of interest manifested itself, in the summer of 1861, principally among the young. No extra measures were employed to maintain or increase the interest, but inquirers voluntarily sought the counsel and prayers of Christians, and, one by

\* The exercises were as follows: Introductory Services by Rev. C. D. Jeffords of Chester; Sermon by Rev. Calvin E. Park of West Boxford, Mass.; Installing Prayer by Rev. J. M. Stow of Walpole N. H.; Charge to the Pastor by Rev. Amos Foster of Acroft, N. H.; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Benjamin Ober of Saxton's River; Charge to the People by Rev. J. G. Wilson of Bellows Falls; Concluding Prayer by Rev. Henry M. Grout of Putney.

† Rev. Harrison Greenough Park, son of Rev. Dr. Calvin and Abigail (Ware) Park, was born in Providence, R. I. 28 July 1806, was graduated at Brown University in 1824, and studied theology at Princeton and with Rev. B. B. Wisner, D. D., of Boston. He also studied law three years, with Bradford Sumner, Esq., of Boston and Hon. J. Fisk of Wrentham. He was ordained pastor of the Congregational Church in South Dedham, Mass., 16 December 1829. Rev. Calvin Park, D. D. preached the sermon. He was dismissed in 1835, and was installed in Danvers, 1 February 1837. Rev. Alvin Burgess, D. D. of Dedham preached the sermon. After a short pastorate he was dismissed, and was then employed as traveling agent of the *Mother's Magazine* and in the publication and editorship of the *Father's and Mother's Manual*. He was installed in Burlington, Mass., 15 November 1849. Rev. E. S. Storrs, D. D., of Braintree preached the sermon, and was dismissed in 1851. He was installed in Bernardston, 16 August, 1854, Rev. L. L. Langstroth of Greenfield preached the sermon, and was dismissed in 1858. Since his dismissal from Westminster, he has not been again installed, but has preached at several places in New Hampshire.

His publications are a *Memorial Sermon of Rev. George Cowles*, 1837; *A Voice from the Parsonage, or Life in the Ministry*; a volume of shady-side literature 1854; and the *Shortened Bed*, a sermon preached at Saxton's River, 1859.

one, were led to give themselves to God, and to rejoice in his mercy. This work of grace effected a pleasing change in the prayer-meeting, the church and the whole community; and as the result of it twenty-four persons united with the church. Mr. Foster's ministry was in all respects acceptable and useful, and would doubtless have continued longer but for protracted sickness in his family, which induced him to close his labors, 26 April 1863. The pulpit was then supplied for some months by Rev. Selah R. Arms. In August 1864, Mr. Francis J. Fairbanks who had previously preached as a candidate, was called to the pastorate, with hearty unanimity on the part both of church and people, and he was ordained 31 August 1864\*. His ministry, and the happy results of it, are too fresh in your minds to need any recital on the present occasion.

Upon reviewing the history of the church for the century, we see that it has had seven pastors and six acting pastors,—not taking into account any ministers who have supplied the pulpit less than a year, as candidates or as temporary supplies. The aggregate term of service by pastors has been thirty-four years and a few months, an average of not quite five years to a pastor. The longest pastorate was that of Rev. Sylvester Sage, which continued for sixteen years and seven months; the shortest was that of Rev. H. G. Park, which lasted only a year and four months. The aggregate term of service by acting pastors has been forty-three years and some months, an average of more than seven years. The longest service as acting pastor was by Rev. Sylvester Sage, who labored in that capacity twenty-eight years and eight months. During nearly twenty-three years of its existence the church has been either destitute of preaching, or supplied irregularly, and for short terms. Nearly all of this destitution, however, occurred in the first forty years of the century. Since Mr. Sage resumed his labors in 1809, the whole period in which the church has been without a stated minister does not amount to a year and a half. Three hundred and eighty-two persons have united by profession and one hundred and sixty-eight by letter, making five hundred and fifty in all; from which number

\* The exercises were as follows: Invocation and Reading the Scriptures by Rev. Benjamin F. Foster of Dummerston; Prayer by Rev. T. M. Dwight of Putney; Sermon by Rev. William James, D. D., of Albany, N. Y.; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. George P. Tyler, D. D., of Brattleboro; Charge to the Pastor by Rev. Alfred Stevens of Westminster West; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. A. B. Foster of Bernardston, Mass.; Charge to the People by Rev. J. D. Crosby of Ashburnham, Mass.

Rev. Francis Joel Fairbanks, son of Emery and Eunice (Hayward) Fairbanks, was born in Ashburnham, Mass., 8 September, 1835, and was graduated at Amherst College in 1862. He studied theology one year at Princeton and another at Union Theological Seminary, at which last he was graduated in 1864. He was licensed by Worcester North Association, 28 April, 1863. His sermon on the National Thanksgiving of 1864 was published in the Bellows Falls Times.

some deduction must be made for persons who have united more than once. Of all these, less than one-fifth still remain resident members of the church; and of that number, more than half have been admitted within the last twenty years. The fathers and the mothers have rested from their labors. They who toiled side by side in the Christian work, and stood shoulder to shoulder in the Christian warfare, have received a gracious release from labor and conflict. Only here and there one, who in the strength of manhood or the zeal of womanhood, had stemmed the current of life, or bore the burden and heat of the day, during the first half century of the church's existence, remains to tell us of the former days. We rejoice to see here to-day a venerable father in the ministry, who as long ago as 1810 gave himself in the prime of life to God and this church, and who for nearly sixty years has watched over it and prayed for it, and, more than once or twice, has been the instrument in God's hands of its deliverance from declension and impending death; and a mother in Israel, who became a member in 1811, and who, as she looks backward two generations to her grandfather, Ephraim Ranney, and forward two generations to her grandchildren, children of this church, can testify in the fullness of her soul, that God is a God that keepeth covenant with His people and with their children and their children's children unto the third and fourth, and even to the fifth generation.

We have called to remembrance, though imperfectly, the former days, and have seen how God has preserved this vine of his right hand's planting, amidst all the changes and fluctuations of a hundred years, causing it to take root downward and bear fruit upward, and ever and anon returning to "visit His vine and the vineyard "which His right hand planted, and the branch "which He made strong for himself." But how insignificant a part of the history of the church has been narrated. We have attended merely to external events, and of these a hundred have been unnoticed while one has been recorded. The inner history is unwritten, except in the great book of account. When that shall be read, and then only, it will be seen what a work this church has wrought in the earth. The history of a single soul, as seen by the eye of God, is of more account than the history of an empire. There is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth. How much has the happiness of heaven been increased by the three hundred and eighty sinners that have repented, and united with the church. Making ample deduction for those who have run well only for a season, the influence direct and indirect, of these Christians upon families, upon communities, upon States, upon the nation and the world, influence going down from generation to generation,

and broadening and deepening as it goes,—can only be adequately estimated by God himself. The church universal on earth, and the world itself, are a very different church and world from what they would have been but for the parents, the teachers in common schools, academies, and colleges, the ministers of the gospel, the ministers' wives, and the business men, the superintendents and teachers of Sabbath-Schools, the men of influence in every walk of life, who have in this church been trained to piety and sent out to work in the vineyard of the Lord.

From the hallowed memories of the past we do not turn away. But from the past itself, we do turn, and, in the strength which God supplies, address ourselves to the way which yet lies before us. How long or how difficult that way may be, God only knows. Upon some of us the lengthened shadows of life's evening hours are already falling, and the day will soon be gone. To some the sun seems to ride high in mid-heaven. The dewy freshness and fragrance of the morning rest upon the pathway of others. But not one of us shall take part in the anniversary which this church will celebrate a hundred years hence. What changes will then have taken place.

Who'll pass along this village street  
A hundred years to come?  
Who'll tread this church with willing feet  
A hundred years to come?  
Pale, trembling age, and fiery youth,  
And childhood with its brow of truth;  
The rich and poor, on land and sea—  
Where will the mighty millions be  
A hundred years to come?

We all within our graves shall sleep  
A hundred years to come.  
No living soul for us will weep  
A hundred years to come.  
But other men our lands will till,  
And others then our streets will fill,  
And others words will sing as gay,  
And bright the sun shine as to-day,  
A hundred years to come.

We send forward our greetings to those who will then celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the church, and may God grant that we shall look down upon that scene from the upper glory.

## II.—EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS.

By HON. THOMAS EBANK, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Whatever may be thought on this point there can be no harm in keeping alive old statements respecting it.

In Rivero and Tehudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, the opinion is confidently expressed that Irish Colonies were planted in the Carolinas and Florida as early as the Ninth Century. They quote from documents, published by Rafn, "which make mention of a nation that, according to the traditions of the Esquimaux, dwelt in their neighborhood, wore white vestments, uttered cries, and made use of long rods with pieces of cloth attached to them," indicative of a chaunting procession of monks. The authors strangely infer, "according to a probable [?] conjecture the Country occupied by this nation was Huitraman-naland, the *country of white men*, which lay along Chesapeake Bay, extending down into Carolina and even still farther South." On this, Dr. Hawks, the translator of Rivero, observes that we know of no other testimony than what is contained in the text.

There is however other testimony and to even earlier settlements, though of a character perhaps equally, if not more doubtful. But as nothing of the kind should be entirely lost sight of, let it be taken for what it is worth. I refer to "*Monastichon Britannicum: or, a Historicall Narration of the first founding and flourishing state of the Ancient Monasteries, Religious Rules and Orders of Great Brittaine, in the Times of the Brittaines and Primitive Church of the Saxons: collected out of most authentic authors, Leiger Books, and Manuscripts. By that learned Antiquary, Richard Broughton.*" London 1655.

The author died in 1634. For the character of this book see Allibone.

Succoth, who took the name of Patricius and subsequently known as St. Patrick, was born in the latter half of the fourth Century. He passed four years with and was ordained by his uncle, St. Martin of Tours; was captured by pirates and taken to Ireland; and died about 460. That he was a genuine travelling teacher, confining himself to no particular nation, is obvious from ancient accounts of him; while to people he could not visit, he deputed Monks of the Order of St. Martin. "These he sent" says Broughton, "into many remote places, and 'Nations . . . We finde in the old written life of S. Brendan that many of them were sent unto, and lived in the *Isles of America*, and had been there, some 80 years, some 90; brought up by St. PATRICK in his Monasteries in these parts before. MENNIUS prooveth that S. PATRICK preached forty years to diverse extern nations, who could not be only to the Irish in Ireland, who were but one extern nation to Britain." Page 131-2.\*

"Of S. KENTIGERN, who lived on the plainest fare, wore coarse garments and carried his pastoral staff, not round and gilded, or sett with pearles, "but of plaine wood, only bended backward, our antiquaries, even Protestants, with others assure us he had in his collodg at Elgu, besides others, always 365 learned, apostolick men, and sent of them unto the *Orchades* islands, to Norway, Island [Iceland] and other extern nations. . . . . also, to Greenland, accounted part of America . . . . and to many other lands and isles of the East Ocean to Russia . . . . and many other islands beyond Scautia [Scotland] even until the Pole Arcticke." Page 187-8.

Broughton mentions a disciple of Brendan, named Machutus, "who was Bishop both in Great and Little Brittaine [Brittany] . . . and both in Brittaine and America." Page 334-5.

Leaving the statements respecting America for Time to clear up, I think there is enough in this book from which to infer that an active European navigation in the North Seas was carried on in the fourth and succeeding Centuries, equalling that of Scandinavian rovers. Columbus visited Iceland or Greenland, I forget which, before his immortal voyage. May not Arctic climates have been, Thirteen hundred years ago, less severe than now.

Supposing the accounts of missions from MSS. quoted by Broughton exaggerated, there is evidence that the spirit of extending the Gospel to all nations, in the early Centuries of our era rivalled that of the Apostles themselves; but unfortunately, of marine enterprise in those days next to nothing is known. If the means of reflecting light on it exist, Time will bring them forth.

E.

### III.—COLONEL ISAAC HAYNE.

FROM THE FAMILY RECORDS, BY HIS GRANDSON, I. W. HAYNE, LATE ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF SOUTH CAROLINA.\*

JOHN HAYNE, the progenitor of all of the name in South Carolina, emigrated to this State, from near Shrewsbury, in Shropshire, England, about the year 1700. He brought with him some property, and settled down as a planter, in the neighborhood in which his grandsons were found at the period of the Revolution.

The eldest son of the emigrant was John, who married an Eddings, and left two sons, William and Abram.

\* This paper has been communicated, for publication in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, by our valued friend, WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS, LL.D., Carolina's distinguished historian; and we are sure our readers will be glad to learn that it is only the first of a series of important papers, from the same source, which they may expect to find, from time to time, in our pages.—Ep. HIST. MAG.

\* The marginal authorities for the preceding are MANUSCRIPT. *Antiq. Capgrave in S. Brendan. Mennius' Histor—supra, Matth. Westm. Anno 491. Antiq. Glastonien. Capgrave in S. Piran.*

William married a Miss Bullen, and left no son. His only daughter married John Simmons, father of Doctor William Hayne Simmons, James Wright Simmons, and Mrs. M. J. Keith. William Hayne died before the period of the Revolution.

Abram, the second son of John, the son of the emigrant, married a Miss Branford, and left surviving him a son, William Hayne, the father of Colonel A. P. Hayne, late of the Army, the friend and companion in arms of General Jackson, and of General Robert Y. Hayne, the distinguished Senator.

The only son of the emigrant other than John, who left descendants, was ISAAC HAYNE, who, in 1741, intermarried with Sarah Williamson. He died in 1751, and left as his only surviving child, ISAAC HAYNE, the subject of inquiry.

Colonel ISAAC HAYNE was born on the twenty-third of September, 1745; and in July, 1765, before he was Twenty years of age, married Elizabeth Hutson, daughter of the Rev. William Hutson, then of Beaufort District, afterward Pastor of the Congregational Church, since known as the Circular Church, in Charleston.

Before the period of the Revolution, Colonel Hayne's life was uneventful. He was a planter, eminently domestic, a country gentleman, whose pride and pleasure it was to maintain that character, *par excellence*. He had large possessions, chiefly in Beaufort and Colleton, but had embarked in an enterprise in York District, with Colonel William Hill of that district, who himself became afterward a conspicuous Whig partisan.

The family seat was in Colleton District, a few miles from Jacksonboro, known as "HAYNE HALL," a very large and elegant residence, with accommodations and grounds fitted up after the English style. It was the center of a hospitality profuse, genial, and elegant.

At the beginning of the War, though he was yet but Thirty years of age, he had been married Ten years and had already Five children. Though somewhat English in taste and habits, averse to politics, and exhibiting, certainly, no military ambition, he, from the first movement in the country, espoused warmly the Whig cause; and his predilections were shown in attaching to the family name of "John," in his second son, the name of Hampden. Of the part he took in public affairs the histories of the time afford my only information. Doctor Ramsey is most to be relied on for accuracy, as he was a personal friend. Colonel Henry Lee, in his *Memoirs* gives an interesting account of some incidents in addition to the capture and execution. I am not sure that Botta or Garden afford anything not previously related. General R. Y. Hayne's article in the first number of the old *Southern Review*, contains EVERYTHING in regard to the capture, the mock

trial, and the execution. Colonel Hayne wanted near Two months of being Thirty-six years of age, at the time of his death, and was in the full vigor of manhood. He was very handsome, and remarkable for activity, strength, and physical accomplishments. He was high-spirited, eminently social, singularly amiable, and of irreproachable private character. With such advantages, personal and adventitious, it was but natural that he should have had "troops of friends," and, without any signal public services, have become a man of mark and consideration in the Province.

The Revolution found the Hayne family, after a sojourn of Seventy-five years in South Carolina, from the period of emigration, with only the Two adult males, who bore the patriarchal names of ABRAM and ISAAC.

The former, though less known, was really as much a "martyr," as his more distinguished cousin. He, too, bore arms in the Whig cause, was taken prisoner, marched to Charleston by his captors on foot, in the heat of Summer, cast into prison, and died of a fever contracted in the exposure.

Both were wealthy, and the fortunes of both were dissipated or destroyed in the troublous times of the Revolution, and their descendants have inherited their fame alone.

Colonel Isaac Hayne made a large investment in Iron Works in York District, near the North Carolina line, in connection with his compatriot, Colonel William Hill. These works, owned by such noted patriots, and engaged at the time, under a contract with Governor Rutledge, in the manufacture of cannon and ball for the Whig forces, were naturally a mark for the enemy, and in the year were burned down by a force of British and Tories, under command of a Captain Huck, and a very large number of negroes employed in the works carried off and never recovered.

Doctor Isaac Hayne, eldest son of Colonel Hayne, died in 1802, leaving no male descendants. John Hampden died unmarried. William Edward, third son of Colonel Hayne, when he came of age, found only the Iron Works in York District, which had been rebuilt, remaining of the once splendid fortune of his father, and the estate burdened with a debt more than equal to the value of the property. After some years of unavailing efforts, he sold out those possessions for just enough to pay the debts incurred. His surviving sons are: Isaac W. Hayne, Attorney-General of South Carolina, and William Edward, a merchant in Charleston. The name is still confined to South Carolina.

The dust of the martyr rests in the grave-yard at the ancestral seat, where so many of the name, of an earlier day, repose. None of the family, in the olden times, when that region was their Sum-

mer as well as Winter home, passed the age of Thirty-eight. I have recently come into the ownership of the old homestead, and mean that it shall, for all time to come, continue to be the burial place of every Hayne who desires to rest by the side of his fathers.

Colonel Isaac Hayne was famous in the Province for his stud of blooded horses, and, at the time of his capture, was mounted on his favorite, an imported stallion, called King Herod; and his friends thought at the time, from their knowledge of horse and rider, that he would certainly have effected his escape, notwithstanding the surprise, but for the fact that King Herod had just recovered of a founder and gave way in leaping a ditch and dam, in his flight. The British Dragoons came upon him, encumbered by the fallen steed. I have the sword he wore,—a light short sword, silver-mounted, with a green shagreen scabbard. I have seen the silver-mounted small pistols he wore in his belt.

“HAYNE HALL” consisted of a center building of Three stories with a cupola, and Two spacious wings. It was of wood, and was burned while in possession of Doctor Isaac Hayne, about the year

The flower-garden and shrubbery were particularly admired. The remains of an artificial fish-pond, and an old brick smoke-house, of the shot-tower style, are all that is left of the old improvements.

I. W. HAYNE,  
March 5, 1858.

For W. GILMORE SIMMS, LL.D.

#### IV.—GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE.

REPLY OF PROFESSOR GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE TO THE EDITOR OF *The Historical Magazine*.\*

MY DEAR DAWSON:

I have read with care your review of my pamphlet, and you must take this answer as a proof of my personal regard.†

I notice Bancroft's first assertion, first, because I regard it as an entering wedge, and secondly, because it is false. The insinuation of Greene's having joined in misrepresenting Washington at

Kip's bay belongs to the same insidious class. Both were designed to produce an impression and that impression, a false one. Need I remind you that by such impressions artfully given the mind is prepared for grave accusations? For the same reason I notice the manner in which Greene is introduced in connection with the attempt upon Staten Island. These insinuations may not affect the mind of an historical scholar like you: but a common reader who receives them for truth will find himself all ready to receive with unquestioning acquiescence the damning assertions that follow. If you doubt it read the review of Mr. Bancroft's IXth volume in the October number of that sedate and thoughtful journal, the *New Englander*.

With regard to Fort Washington I had to choose between the discussion of an opinion and the refutation of an assertion. I chose the latter, and still believe that I chose right. Discussions of opinion generally leave both parties equally convinced of the correctness of the opinion with which they started. Whether the holding Fort Washington was right or wrong, will, in the present state of the evidence, as far as I am acquainted with it, continue to be a question for discussion. I believe that General Greene was right. Mr. Bancroft believes that he was wrong. We might write volumes and each of us carry his original conviction unchanged to the grave. I did not care to meet my opponent on this questionable ground, when there was a question of fact to be squarely met. He threw the responsibility upon Greene. I have proved it to have been Washington's. And there, for the present, I am willing to let the discussion rest.

I differ from you equally with regard to the importance of the sixth and seventh charges. They are links in a continuous chain. To have passed them over would have been to concede that they were true. Few things are more to be guarded against than false coloring, and no instrument is so prompt in the production of false coloring as words.

Your remarks upon the ninth charge show me that you have misunderstood my aim. Mr. Bancroft makes assertions. I undertake to refute him by documents. Where a simple arrangement of the documents seemed to me to carry its argument with it, I have not attempted to force my reasoning upon the reader. I do not see in what way I could have so effectually met his assertions as by showing that they contradict the documents to which all history must make its final appeal.

You cannot see the force of either my tenth or my eleventh division. I am sorry for it. My charge in both instances is a charge of omission for the purpose of confirming the unfavorable opinion of Greene, already expressed in other connections. I was certain that Mr. Bancroft had

\* Although the following letter is dated “March 28, 1867,” the envelope in which it was enclosed is postmarked, “EAST “GREENWICH, R. I., Jul. 27,” and it was received by us on the twenty-ninth of July. We make room for it in the earliest issue of *The Magazine*, subsequent to that date, which was not previously occupied and in the hands of the printers; and shall take occasion, hereafter, to examine the statements of the writer, contradicting our own, as well as some of his conclusions.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† The review to which this is a reply may be found in the February number of this work. (i., 124.) ED. HIST. MAG.

read Hamilton's statement concerning Greene's share in "the conception" of the movements in New Jersey, and knew the impression which that statement made upon the candid and judicious Sparks. And I had reason to believe that he had given some attention to the subject of the mistaken choice of a camp at Red Clay creek, altho' as that mistake implies an error of judgment on the part of Washington, he does not see fit to mention it. It is not only for what we have done but for what we have left undone that we are taught to ask forgiveness. It is not only by what he says, but by what he leaves skilfully unsaid that the defamer blasts character. I should have been untrue to my instincts as an historian, false to my duty as a grandson, if I had failed to meet either of these implications.

My twelfth division you regard as a "sad 'botch." I regret the expression, which seems to me unfit, either for literary criticism or historical discussion. But I pass this as a matter of taste; the substance of your criticism is, that I endeavor, "by inuendo," to claim the merit of the day for Greene, introducing Gordon for this purpose. I deny the accusation. I have introduced Gordon here, as I have introduced him elsewhere, in order to call the attention of my readers to the irreconcilable contradiction between Mr. Bancroft, writing Ninety years after the event, and a contemporary historian, personally intimate with almost all the principal actors, and writing with his extracts from their letters, and his memorandums of their statements, before him. Thus much for the reason of my quotation from Gordon. Now for the facts, premising that I hold it to be an established principle, that the credit of a campaign belongs to the Commander-in-chief, the credit of a battle to the commanding general, the credit of a particular movement, as an executive act, to the commander of the wing or regiment that performed it; credit and responsibility going hand in hand throughout. And therefore, to conceal, misstate, or slur over the services of a subordinate, is to be guilty of a historical falsehood.

My charge against Mr. Bancroft is, that he misrepresents Greene's services, claiming for the Commander-in-chief an executive merit which really belongs to his subordinate. Am I right or wrong? This is the true question between Mr. Bancroft and me.

With the first part of the battle of the Brandywine I have nothing to do. The defence of the much-abused Sullivan may safely be left to Mr. Amory. But for the left wing Greene is responsible. Let us see how he met the responsibility.

According to Mr. Bancroft, Washington, "at the sound of the cannon on the right, taking with him Greene and the two Brigades of Mühl-

"enber and Weedon," marches swiftly to the support of Sullivan, checks the pursuit, designates the position Greene is to occupy, and thus saves the army.

First, now, it is generally conceded that Washington and Greene were together when the battle began. I shall accept this, therefore, as an established fact. Did they remain together? Mr. Bancroft asserts that they did, and consequently that Washington conducted that swift march to the support of the right wing which has always been regarded as one of the brilliant feats of the day. What authority has he for the assertion? He does not tell us, and therefore we must try to find it for ourselves.

It is not Gordon, whose narrative, giving to Greene the merit of the march, implies that Washington, pausing only to give his orders, hastened personally to the front, leaving the execution of those orders to Greene, (ii., 511, Ed. 1788, London).

It is not Greene, who, in his letter of the fifth of July, 1788, to Henry Marchant, claims the march for himself.

Marshall, however, says, "on the commencement of the action on the right, General Washington pressed forward with Greene to the support of that wing" (i., 157, of 2d Ed.; iii., 149, Ed. of 1804).

Now this statement must either be modified, or we must reject the testimony of Joseph Brown as given by Dr. Arlington. Dr. Arlington's character puts his words beyond dispute, and all the laws of historical evidence justify us in accepting Brown's narrative. He told the story to Dr. Arlington's father, the father to his son. Both father and son lived near the ground, and were familiar with the local details and local anecdotes. Had Brown's story been false, they must have heard some contradiction of it. Neither of them hints a doubt. If we reject such testimony, what can we believe?

Marshall's presence in the battle would, even if his personal character were not such as to place his truthfulness above suspicion, entitle him to full acceptance for whatever he states as an eye-witness, and to respectful consideration upon all points within the observation of a subordinate officer. But his account of this battle is meager, and except for a skirmish in the forenoon, without detail; Washington's letters furnished none, and they were his chief reliance. I believe, therefore, that between Marshall's unsupported assertion, and Brown's narrative, supported by the concurrent testimony of Greene and Gordon, we are bound to say that Marshall's words must be modified. This is not difficult. Washington, on hearing the cannon, gave his orders. Greene instantly began to put them in execution, and the advance commenced while

Washington was still with him. The sounds of the conflict came faster and faster. Washington hastened to the front by a cross road, leaving Greene to carry out his orders and join him as soon as he could by the main road. Greene accomplished this in forty-five minutes, and in looking back upon this march the next year felt justified in saying, "I marched One Brigade of my Division, being upon the left wing, between Three and Four miles in Forty-five minutes."

But did he take both Brigades with him? He positively says, "I marched One Brigade," and I believe even Starkie would say that, under such circumstances, and with no conceivable motive for mutilating or concealing the truth, his evidence must be accepted. You, however, if I understand you correctly, believe that he had both Brigades with him. You cite Mühlberg's *Life of Mühlberg*, 94, 340. Now Mühlberg gives no authority but Johnson (i., 76), and Johnson no authority whatever. I say no authority but Johnson, for I have expressly stated that the volume of mine, which he also cites, is to be regarded as "an earnest of what I 'hoped' some day to do with my grandfather's manuscripts before me, not as the result of a careful study of those manuscripts. Marshall says nothing about Brigades, but simply that "Washington pressed forward with General 'Greene,' a form of expression which leaves room for either both or one. But Gordon expressly says, "Greene immediately hastened his 'first Brigade; the second Brigade is ordered by 'Washington to march a different route" (ii., 511).

Now, shall Mühlberg and Johnson, the only Two who make the positive assertion, be accepted without a document to bear them out, against Greene and Gordon, who make a contrary assertion?

I come now to the question of the position taken by Greene to cover the retreat of the right wing. Mr. Bancroft says, "a strong position 'chosen by Washington, which completely commanded the road.'" This, you say, is confirmed by General Mühlberg, Gordon, and Judge Johnson. If General Mühlberg had said this, or left it on record, I should have felt bound to accept his statement; but Henry A. Mühlberg, writing in 1848, and referring to Johnson, who gives no authority for the statement, and to the sketch by Messrs. Bowen and Futhey, who give no authority, cannot be received as a witness. Gordon, at least in the pages to which you refer, makes no allusion to Washington's having chosen the position; indeed, he is so far from saying this that he distinctly ascribes the choice to Greene.

Now, what was the origin of this story so readily taken up and so confidently repeated by succeeding historians? The following passage,

I presume, in a certificate given by Colonel Pinckney to General Sullivan, on the twenty-fourth of September, 1777. "General Sullivan, turning to "me, requested I would ride up to General Weedon, and desire him to halt Colonel Spottswood's and Colonel Stephens' regiments in the *ploughed field* on our right and form them there, which I did." (*Proc. of Hist. Soc. of Penn.*, i., No. 8, p. 50.) Returning to this subject in 1820, Colonel Pinckney repeats substantially the same story in a letter to Judge Johnson; I say substantially, for the additional details leave the material statements unchanged. It was still the *ploughed field*, and not the *wooded pass*, that Washington pointed out (*Hist. Mag.*, x., 203).

It is not difficult to conceive, although strongly suggestive of caution to observe, how completely the story has been changed, leaving only enough of its origin about it to serve as an excuse for historians who do not feel the necessity of verifying all their assertions.

According to some, Messrs. Bowen and Futhey, for example (*ut sup.* p. 12): "In the course of "the day, Washington had pointed out to General Greene a suitable position for a second "stand in the event of their being obliged to fall "back from either point." According to Johnson, it was the Commander-in-chief and General Sullivan who had noticed this spot (i., 76).

Now, if we can place reliance upon Dr. Arlington's researches, "General Washington's Head Quarters were at Benjamin Berg's tavern, about three-quarters of a mile East of Chad's ford" (*Proc. Hist. Soc. Penn. ut sup.*, 58). "He was "there and thereabout all the fore part of the "day of the battle." Why, indeed, should he have been riding a circuit Four or Five miles from his quarters, with Knyphausen to watch, and tidings every moment expected which might imperatively demand his presence on some other point? Why, even if he chose that moment to reconnoitre for positions, should he take either Sullivan or Greene from their commands?

If Pinckney and Dr. Arlington are right, Washington was with Sullivan when Weedon's Brigade came up. Greene would naturally hasten forward to join them and get his new orders. These, with perhaps some other officers, would form the "Council of war," which, according to Gordon, was held on the field. Sullivan might very naturally have suggested the order conveyed by Pinckney to Weedon, and the "ploughed field" would thus have become the first stand of the second part of the battle. From that point to the pass where the final stand was made, was, according to Gordon, half a mile, over which Greene slowly retreated, using his field-pieces freely till he came to the pass, which he held till dark, saving the artillery, and giving the broken troops of the right wing time to make

their way to a place of safety. Mühlberg's Brigade I suppose to have come up very soon after Weedon's marching, as Gordon asserts, by a different road.

If I have allowed my feelings as a grandson to lead me to attach an undue importance to Mr. Bancroft's misstatements concerning Greene's part in the battle of the Brandywine, I must look for my justification to Greene's own words: "I trust 'history will do justice to the reputation of those 'who have sacrificed every thing for the public 'service."

These words must also be my protection against the charge of excessive sensitiveness in the two next sections, or rather throughout the remainder of my pamphlet. Mr. Bancroft's allegations form a whole, closely connected and artfully welded together. Mr. Bancroft's omissions are full of significance. I see no cause for regretting that I have met them both.

I have now answered in a candid and respectful tone the substance of your criticisms without regarding the form. I wish that that had been more consistent with our personal relations, and with the dignity of our common studies. The truth of history has nothing to gain from sarcasm, nor her votaries from mutual reprimand. The most industrious will sometimes fall short of the exactness at which they aim, the most cautious will sometimes stumble, the most upright sometimes err. To help and be helped in turn; to respect earnest labor even when we cannot accept its results; to keep our own frailties in view as a guard against the rash condemnation of the frailties of others; and to bear constantly in mind that the facts of history are worthless unless the spirit that animates the narrative be the spirit of a pure, a zealous, and a generous sympathy with honorable endeavor and noble aspirations—are not these the first and highest duties of the historian?

Very truly yours,

GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE.

EAST GREENWICH, R. I.,

March 28, 1867.

V.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

55.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL JAMES MARSHALL.\*

MOUNT VERNON 10<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1796.

DEAR SIR,

If you can recollect by whom, or in what manner the letter for General Pinckney, which went under cover to you, was sent to the Post Office in Richmond, I would thank you for information respecting it.—

That letter, with a note enclosed therein, containing three bank bills for one hundred dollars each, for the sufferers by fire in Charles'ton, had not on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July been received by that Gentleman; although duplicates, written *after* I had been favoured with your answer has been acknowledged by him.—

In confidence, I inform you that General Pinckney accepts his appointment to France, and will soon be in Phil<sup>a</sup> to prepare for the Mission.

With very great esteem & reg<sup>d</sup> I am Dr Sir Y<sup>r</sup> Ob<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON

Gen<sup>l</sup> MARSHALL.

[Outside address]

GENERAL MARSHALL

in

Richmond.

President

U. S.

56.—DAVID CROCKETT, M. C. FROM TENNESSEE, TO PETER B. PORTER, SECRETARY OF WAR.\*

WASHINGTON 24 January 1829.

DEAR SIR

a cording to your Request I have here in Recomended to your Consideration Mr Amos R. Johnston of Paris Henry County in my district as an aplieant for the appointment of a Cadat Mr Johnston is a Young man of good Morrel Character and of a Respectable Parance I have no doubt but what he is well quallified and about 18 years of age also Mr William B Partee the young man that I left his letter with you is also of good Charreotor and as promising a youth as I am acquainted with he is about 16 years of age Mr Partee is the first aplieant and if I am only to have one I wish him appointed I will call and see you on the subject

Respectfully your obt serv<sup>t</sup>

DAVID CROCKETT

P: B PORTER

57.—GENERAL LAFAYETTE TO MR. JEFFERSON.†

PARIS, May 13<sup>th</sup> 1823.

MY DEAR FRIEND

I avail myself of Mr Gallatin's departure to let you hear of the old friend who would be Happy to Embark with Him, but is now embarked on a political ocean more wide and less to be trusted than the Atlantic. The cause of freedom, after the miscarriage of Italy and some faint attempts elsewhere, is now confined to the peninsula; the limits of a legal opposition in France,

\* From the collection of F. S. Hoffman, Esq., of New York.

† From the collection of Nath'l Paine, Esq., Worcester, Mass.

and ministerial liberality in England are soon to be found. Every other exertion that may show itself is Hostile to our cause: Yet there is a general sympathy in its favor: Was it not for the impressions left by the excesses of the french revolution, Resistance to despotism and Aristocracy might be obtained. But the greater obstacle to energetic measure is to be found in the Habits of Egotism, Submission, in the diabolical administrative institutions which the imperial system Has settled upon this Nation. Yet it is more and more evident that on the dispositions and fortunes of france, European liberty Has chiefly to depend: The period is truly critical. Should the peninsula be subdued or voluntarily Bend, our liberal chances are far Removed. I hope it cannot be the case, and from that circumstance, Better and nearer Hopes may arise. the Spanish War is no where so unpopular as it is in france.

You Have Heard of the transactions in our *Charter parliament*. the 4th of March has afforded me a great pleasure, that of a flat refusal from the parisian National guard to an improper order given with much force & eclat. Since that day the *cote gauche* Have not Reentered the House: but the Counter Revolution is nevertheless going on, and will go to every extremity of Anti-National pretensions unless it is manly stopped by effectual opposition.

Four parties are generally Reckoned, Royal or legitimate—Bonapartist, orleanist, and Republican. those of whom Have now come to acknowledge the sovereignty of the people and their right to choose a government: But the very denomination of two of them demonstrate that in the Republican alone there exists a determination to have those rights truly & fully exercised. far I am from denying the Republican inclinations and preferences which brought me to the United States, which I constantly Have acknowledged. Before 89, in the several courts of Europe and since, at the very moment when I Honestly endeavoured to support the Nominal throne which the sovereignty of the people Had constitutionally established. I must add that the experiments of the past three and thirty years, in france, and elsewhere, are not very favorable to the Alliance of popular institutions with an Hereditary Royal Magistracy. and in the alternative between the one and the other Royalty should of course give way, it is However probable that the experiment may be continued in Europe for a quarter of a Century, and whatever is now said among our Civil and Military statesmen, Respecting our Unbending Republicanism we would in case of a commotion only insist upon an immediate Restoration of Elective Municipalities and departmental administrations. Upon the general *armement* of National Guards, naming their own officers, and

upon the convention of a Constitutional Assembly originating from the bulk of the people, leaving to them to organize the powers of government, every authority being r't then considered as provisory. So far and no farther do the Republican party go in their demands, reserving themselves to recommend the more National and cheaper institutions which it will be in their power to obtain.

There is now a series of Memoirs on the Revolution published by faithful editors, where amidst the accusations, revelations, apologies of men belonging to the several parties the impartial reader must, I presume to say, do justice to the motives and conduct of the patriots who were designed in the year under the name of *Constitutionals* and Have evinced more love of legal order, and more genuine republicanism than most of their detractors under other denominations.

Your former correspondent, Emperor Alexander, Has Become the chief of Anti-liberalism in Europe, leaving the Greeks to their fate, which, thanks to their *Heroic exertions*, Has not, I think, been a misfortune to them. His mind is Haunted by the progress of freedom in West and South of Europe which He labors to crush and retard as much as he can. *Quantum Mutatus ab illo.* Whom I have Conversed with in 1811 at the House our illustrious friend M<sup>me</sup> de Staël. M. de Tracy is in tolerable good Health; He Has the use of His eyes, not so well however as to be able to apply to studies. all my family are well and desire their most affectionate respects to you. Victor Tracy and George are members of the House of deputies. I have been lately reelected in Spighte of the efforts of government. The independent Arrondissement de Meaux, (Seine et Marne my actual department) Have been pleased to return me as the Representative of their electoral College.

I Have Some time ago mentioned the Work of a young female friend to whom I am attached by the ties of paternal affection, & of whom our old friend Bentham has said "she was the strongest and sweetest mind that ever was cased in a female body." I send you a second edition of her views on the State of Society and Manners in America, in which a few alterations have been made, one particulaly respecting yourself. I also send a small book entitled a few days in Athens. Her High Respect for you makes me particularly wish you to know these two publications.

Adieu, my dear excellent friend; present my affectionate respects to Mrs. Randolph and think sometimes of an old Companion in the cause of Mankind whose greatest and very necessary comfort is in the Remembrance of our American exertions, and their Happy Consequences, while European transactions are ever thorny, too often sullied, at the best will never afford the admirable products and pure enjoyments of our Colombian

times. let me hear from you, my dearest Jefferson, and receive the love and good wishes of your affectionate friend

LAFAYETTE.

Tracy's excellent book has been reprinted in a small cheap edition; He presents the most grateful regard for the fine edition. I am very sorry to part with Mr. Gallatin. But he goes only on furlough, and may be will return.

58.—RUFUS KING TO GOVERNOR TOMPKINS.\*

WASHINGTON January 25. 1815

SIR,

According to the suggestion which I took the liberty to make in a former Letter, I have now the Honor to send enclosed to your Excellency, a Copy of the Bill providing for the raising of State Corps—the Bill is before the President, and doubtless will become a Law—We are still in anxious suspense concerning the State of N. Orleans—the last Letters are of the 24<sup>th</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup>. the day after the affair between Gen<sup>l</sup>. Jackson and the Enemy—a letter from Warrington, N. C. to Gov<sup>r</sup>. Turner of the Senate, dated Jany. 20<sup>th</sup> says—“We have just rec<sup>d</sup>. News here by a Letter to Doctor Berton from some Person in Granville “(a neighbouring County) stating that a Gentleman had just passed thro<sup>b</sup> that County from N. Orleans, and stated that General Jackson had “defeated the British and Indians, near that Place—the number killed and taken Prisoners “is said to be very great”—

Hopes are cherished that this Intelligence may refer to an action subsequent to that of the 23<sup>d</sup>.

with great Respect

I am yr Exy. ob Ser

RUFUS KING

PS

The mention of the Indians renders that Report suspicious as we have no intimation of these having joined the Enemy in this Descent —

59.—GEN. SCOTT TO GEN. WINDER.†

PLAINS OF BUFFALOE May 6<sup>th</sup> 1814

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Permit me with heartfelt gladness to congratulate you on your happy return to your family the army your country. Lieut Smith has brought us the pleasing intelligence, nothing can be more auspicious—the return—the exchange—the opening of the campaign. Write me my dear General to inform me how these happy changes have been brought

about, and shall I not have the happiness of seeing you soon on the frontier? I know your predilection for this theatre from what passed between us at Albany the past Winter.

I have a handsome little army (M. Gen<sup>l</sup> Brown has been absent in the direction of the Harbour since the 21<sup>st</sup> past) of about 1700 total, to wit the 8<sup>th</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> & 25<sup>th</sup> Regts and two companies 2<sup>nd</sup> art<sup>r</sup>. Brig Gen<sup>l</sup> Ripley who received his notification last evening is with me. If many recruits are not forwarded he will be without a Brigade. I am most partial to these Regts. The men are healthy, sober, cheerful and docile. The field officers highly respectable, and many of the platoon officers are decent & emulous of improvement. If of such material I do not make the best army now in service by the first June, I will agree to be dismissed the service.

Our friend Cap<sup>t</sup> Towson is with me. With the manly tears of joy he heard of your return. But a few days since he learned from my aid Lieut Worth that a report had prevailed in Baltimore said to be derived from Capt. T. somewhat to this effect, that he Cap<sup>t</sup> T. very much censured your conduct at Stony Creek & c<sup>o</sup> & c<sup>o</sup> & c<sup>o</sup>. Towson is most indignant at the foul aspersion of *himself*, for so he considers the report and holds you in the highest esteem and respect as he has uniformly expressed himself with all the energy of his honorable and high-toned sensibility. I also assert that not a man in the army at Fort George last summer ever expressed within my hearing or to my knowledge a whisper to your prejudice. This said not on your account for you do not stand in need of my support, but on account of my friend Towson lest you should imagine he is less than what he professes.

I write you my dear General in haste in the first flush of joy

I am with esteem ever yrs W. SCOTT

Tell me how you left my friend Roach? Van deventer, Machesney &c. I calculate certainly on having the happiness of receiving a letter from you

W. S.

Brig Gen<sup>l</sup> W. H. WINDER.

60.—COMMITTEE OF WAR OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.\*

Nov. 11<sup>th</sup>. 12 o'clock at Noon

GENTLEMEN

The Congress having come to the Enclosed Resolution, and the Situation of Affairs requiring in our opinion, the utmost Dispatch we beg Leave to request that you will immediately appoint a Committee of your honorable

\* From the collection of the Editor.

† Communicated by W. H. Winder, Esq., of Philadelphia.

\* From the collection of F. S. Hoffman, Esq., of New York city.

Board to meet us at the War office as soon as possible—

We are with Respect

Your very obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>s

BENJAMIN HARRISON

JAMES WILSON

EDWARD RUTLEDGE

FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE

[Addressed]

"The Honorable

"The Council of Safety

"for the State of Pennsylvania"

[Indorsed]

"War office

"Nov. 11. 1776"

life, that the latter Church was erected in 1779. It was building when she was married.

Both the date and the object of making the Map will appear from the following document, which, though not found in connection with it, yet throws light upon the origin of it. It is headed,

#### A REMONSTRANCE,

"TO THE NORTH CAROLINA PRESBYTERY WHICH  
"IS TO SIT IN APRIL, 1773.

"The petition of the members of Fourth creek  
"congregation humbly sheweth, that your petition-  
"ers have been congregated upwards of twenty  
"years, and the place of worship in said congre-  
"gation hath likewise been fixed this sixteen or  
"seventeen years, and known by the name of  
"Fourth creek Meeting House.

"Some time the last fall a number of persons  
"that live nigh or adjoining to the Northern  
"boundary of said congregation, made a motion  
"to have a division of said congregation in order  
"to have another house of public worship, and  
"nominated sixteen men to carry the same into  
"execution, and made an order that any thirteen  
"of them agreeing on any point relating ther-  
"unto, should be final; by which nomination and  
"rule they were sure to gain their point, as they  
"had thirteen of said panel nigh upon their own  
"borders.

"At another meeting, the aforesaid persons and  
"thirteen of the men nominated to make the di-  
"vision, and a number more of other extreme  
"parts of the congregation proposed that the old  
"Meeting House should be dropped altogether,  
"and that the congregation should be divided and  
"two new Meeting Houses should be built, which  
"would cut off a part of the South side altogether;  
"which would be quite too far for them to attend,  
"and proceeded to appoint two places, such as  
"they said they thought most suitable to build  
"said houses, and would pay no regard to any-  
"thing offered to the contrary by the interior  
"parts of said congregation, which was the only  
"persons that was at the cost and trouble of  
"building the old house, and also of supporting  
"what small measures of the Gospel, God and his  
"Providence has allowed them.

"Now Reverend Fathers, we beg and beseech  
"you to take these our grievances under your  
"consideration, and grant unto us the benefit of  
"that Rule of Presbytery by you made at a Pres-  
"bytery held at Cathey's Meeting House" [Thya-  
"tira Church, now in Rowan Co.] "last year, which  
"we think seven miles round said house will be  
"sufficiently able to support and maintain a gos-  
"pel minister in a decent manner."

This document would seem, then, to have been drawn up in the Winter of 1772-3, as the writer speaks of what was done "last Fall," and it was

#### VI.—AN ANCIENT MAP OF THE CENTRAL PART OF IREDELL COUNTY, N. C.

BY PROFESSOR E. F. ROCKWELL, OF DAVIDSON  
COLLEGE.

This document, drawn with a pen, was found about Twenty years ago in the possession of Alexander Nisbett, Esq. of that County; and a limited number of lithographic copies were procured in New York, in 1847, by the present writer,

A DESCRIPTION OF IT: The centre of it is about Two miles North-west of the town of Statesville; and from that center it is laid off in a series of concentric circles, One mile apart, to the number of Eleven, making as many miles from the center to the circumference, and embracing a tract of country Twenty-two miles in diameter, including the town above named, (not then in existence), and all the central part of the County. The following streams are more or less within the limits of it: Rocky creek on the North, and the Catawba river on the South-west; Snow creek, South Yadkin, Third creek, Fourth creek, Fifth Creek, Young's creek, Cavin's creek, Reedy creek, Buffalo Shoal creek, Elk-Shoal creek, and their tributaries.

ITS DATE: This can only be determined by inference. It was drawn when all this tract of country was included in the congregation of the Church called Fourth creek, which is now the Presbyterian church of Statesville, though still retaining its original name which it had more than Thirty years before the town was located there, which is about equidistant from Third creek on the South and Fourth creek on the North. These creeks, being affluents of the South Yadkin, are named in regular order as they are crossed by the traveller going from Salisbury, West.

It was before the erection, within these bounds, of Two other Presbyterian Churches—Concord on the West, and Bethany on the North, each about Six miles from the old Church. And we learn from an old lady in the vicinity, who remembers the date from an important event in her early

for the action of the Presbytery of North Carolina, in April, 1773. The petitioners had formed a congregation upwards of Twenty years, while the location of their house of worship had been fixed Sixteen or Seventeen years. Now the country in this region began to be settled by emigrants from Pennsylvania, about 1750-51, and *upwards of twenty years* will then come to 1772-3.

And it is known that they differed about the location of their house of worship, and that a place was first selected about Two miles North of Statesville, near Allison's Mill, where a graveyard was commenced; they then moved about a mile nearer town, where they prepared to build, and some families having begun to bring their dead there, they have continued the practice to the present time. The spot is inclosed, though in the uncleared forest, and is known as "the Allison grave-yard."

"The Old House," spoken of, is the second predecessor of the present house of worship, and stood in the rear of that one. The immediate predecessor of the present was built of very heavy logs, about 1780; it was removed a few years ago, when the present structure was erected with brick.

The forming of this Map, then, was connected with the division of the congregation spoken of in this paper, which contemplated the giving up of the location finally selected, and the erection of Two new Churches, One in the extreme North-east part of the congregation, near Rocky creek, where it will be seen, by an inspection of the Map, the number of families was larger; and another on the opposite side, at a place known at this day as "Beattie's Old Field." And the time cannot differ much from 1773; as we see above, the paper was for a meeting of Presbytery about to take place in the ensuing April, the place not being stated; and we know from other sources that the Presbytery was not formed before 1770. And we know that in old times, party feelings ran high on the subject of dividing Churches and congregations; and having more than One Church within certain limits belonging to the same denomination; hence the rule alluded to of "Seven miles round."

The writer knows of an instance of strife of this kind, where the opposing party could not get a majority to vote to remove the old Church to a more central position; and to carry out their purpose, they first set the Church on fire in the tower under the bell in the dead of winter; and not succeeding in the destruction of the house in this way, the following summer they came by night disguised as wild Indians with a large number of ox-teams; pulled it down, and carried the materials just One mile, and there re-erected it and changed themselves into a different denomination. Though the Governor of the State,

a name well known in history, and the Chief-justice, lived in the immediate vicinity, they were not interfered with in their work, but were made to pay for the riot afterwards; and the other part of the congregation erected a new Church of brick on the old spot, which is still standing. The transaction was published not only in this country, but also abroad, and even in the English papers in India. But to return:

WHAT RENDERS THIS OLD MAP IMPORTANT? It contains the names and the locations of all the heads of families belonging to the congregation at that time; and as it is within about Twenty years from the time that settlements began in that region, we presume that these are the pioneers in this then wilderness. The Map is divided by a line passing through the "Old House," and by another at right angles to this, passing through the centre, making the Four parts unequal in size.

In the North-west quarter are Seventy-five families; in the North-east Fifty-four families; in the South-east, Thirty families; in the South-west, Thirty-seven families; making in all One hundred and ninety-six families.

The following names are found: Adams, Alexander, Allison, Andrew, Archibald, Bailie, Beard, Beattie, Bell, Black, Bones, Bowman, Boyd, Brown, Caldwell, Carson, Cavin, Chambers, Clindermon, Cooper, Davis, Dobbins, Dobson, Duffie, Edmund, Fleming, Forgey, Freeland, Gay, Grey, Griffiths, Guthrie, Harden, Hall, Hamilton, Harris, Henderson, Henry, Hill, Holmes, Houston, Ireland, Irvin, Johnson, Kilpatrick, King, Knox, Leach, Locke, Logan, Long, McCallom, McClethy, McRary, McGuire, McHargue, McFarland, McLeland, McLean, McKee, McKnight, McKinney, McKown, McNeely, McWhorter, Milligan, Miller, Montgomery, Morrison, Morton, Murdock, Newbury, Nichols, Nisbett, Oliphant, Ormond, Porter, Potts, Purviance, Reed, Rodman, Rogers, Rosebro, Rowly, Rutledge, Sharp, Shay, Simonton, Sloan, Smith, Snoddy, Steel, Stevenson, Stinson, Stuart, Tazen, Thomas, Thompson, Thornton, Tracey, Trotter, Waddell, Wasson, Watt, Waugh, Whaley, White, Wilson, Wither-spoon, Woodfork, Woods, One hundred and eleven in all.

Some of these names are misprinted on the Map, and that of *Davis* has in the course of time become *Davidson*.

At least Ten of these names are found on the roll of the Committee of Safety for Rowan County in 1774-5,\* viz.: John Archibald, John Montgomery, John Purviance, John Nisbett, David Caldwell, Samuel Harris, Jacob Nichols,

\* See the Journal of that body printed for the first time in *Wheeler's History of North Carolina*, ii, 360-362. It had been brought to the notice of the public, a short time before by the present writer, in the *Salisbury Watchman*.

Robert King, Ninian Steele, Wm. Sharpe, the author of the Map.

These people, who settled in what is called the Mesopotamia of North Carolina, between the Yadkin and Catawba rivers, were mostly of the Scotch-Irish race, and emigrated hither from Pennsylvania, to which they, or their ancestors, had previously emigrated from Ireland. They could not find a resting-place in the "Old Dominion," because the laws were oppressive to dissenters from the Established Church; though, as we shall afterwards see, they labored under some disabilities here. Soon after they settled here, however, a colony of the Highland Scotch came. One of their principal settlements was about Eight miles West of Statesville, and formerly called New Scotland. In 1772 about a Dozen or Twenty families came and settled not far from the Catawba, near to Sterling Chnreh. There were the McKays, the McIntoshes, the Mathewsons, the Campbells, &c. Colin Campbell was a kind of a chieftain among them. Here originated Geo. W. Campbell of Tenn., the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States in 1814, and afterwards minister to Russia. Another settlement of these was formed about the same time, and about the same distance from Statesville (not then built), East or South-east. They continued to come till within the present century. Some who came in 1804 returned to Canada. Others have emigrated to the Western country, and there are few families now remaining. Times have greatly changed since they appeared here in their peculiar costumes, with their bonnets, kilts, and short clothes; with their long stockings and large silver shoe-buckles.

A different set of names from either of the above classes came soon after the time of this Map, and from a different source, and occupied the country between Rocky creek and Hunting creek. They were from Montgomery county in Maryland. Some of their names are Fitzgerald, Ferrill, Gaither, Lazenby, Keith, Shaw, Beggarby, Giddings, Belt, Summers, Tomlinson, Ellis, Albed, &c. They came, it is said, between 1779 and 1795.

They filled the space on the North border of our Map. They were different in some respects from the Scotch-Irish, by the side of whom they built their cabins. They were, perhaps, more refined than the latter, and contributed to improve them in some things, while, in return, they learned of them what proved useful to themselves. Particularly in domestic manufactures—the chief dependence at that time,—the Scotch-Irish were superior to the Marylanders; while in the culinary arts, and in agriculture, the latter excelled. The Marylanders were the better farmers, especially in raising corn. For a long time there was a deep-rooted prejudice in the

minds of each people against the other. Their young people did not associate together, and parents would not allow intermarriages.

One great distinction between these two races of people was, that while the Scotch-Irish used *mush* mostly, the emigrants from Maryland thought *hominy* indispensable; and while the latter depended on a supply of *meat*, their Scotch-Irish neighbors thought those most fortunate who abounded in milk; with which an extensive open range of pasture furnished a ready supply. Said Mrs. Gaither to Mrs. Lazenby, "Have you 'plenty of milk at your house?" "Yes," was the reply. "Then I don't *mourn* you" (*i. e.* I think you well off), said Mrs. G.

All, both men and women, wore wool hats with an exceedingly narrow brim. A few, however, of the highest rank, had them made of the fur of the beaver, which would last a life time. The young people of both sexes, in summer, when about their ordinary business, went without shoes and stockings; the young women wore short gowns and petticoats; and the young men, hunting shirts, with trowsers of tow and cotton. Boots were not common; they were worn only by a few of the higher class. Both boots and shoes were sharp-pointed at the toes.

For Sunday dress the men had coats and small clothes of cotton and wool mixed; and if colored a little black or blue, though not sheared, they were regarded as very fine.

These early settlers here, though in the wilderness, did not forget their God; they were a church-going people. When they came here, they left behind them the land of Churches and of a preached Gospel. And till then, these valleys and rocks had never been vocal with the praises of their Maker—had never smiled when a Sabbath appeared. Yet scarcely had this log cabins of the pale faces become mingled among the wigwams of the copper-colored race, or had displaced them, before rude structures called "stands" \* were erected in the woods, and men gathered around these to hear a sermon, whenever a missionary from the Synod of New York,

\* The meaning of this term "stand," for preaching, is well understood in the South and West, but perhaps not in the North and East. These structures are common in the new settlements, and consist of temporary arrangements for preaching and hearing when a Church cannot be erected. A small rude building is raised in its floor a few feet above the ground, and a few feet square, and with a roof for the accommodation of the speaker. There is a book-board in front to lay the Bible and hymn book upon, and this formerly, was sometimes fastened between Two trees which upheld the ends of it. One of these, thus arranged, where a missionary preached, about Three miles from Statesville, One hundred years ago, was seen not long since, with the ends grown deeply into the wood. Logs were laid at suitable distances apart, and at right angles to the front of the pulpit, and then split logs across these made the seats, leaving a passage for an aisle out in front of the speaker; and similar ones in other directions. Large audiences could with comfort thus hear the Gospel under the shade of the trees.

or Philadelphia, came along to look after the sheep scattered in the wilderness.

Thus they were cheered, and their hearts nerves against danger.

But, at first, living at a great distance apart, most of them were compelled to travel each time, many a weary mile, and return home again the same day. To go Ten or Twelve miles to attend on the means of grace, was accounted *then*, little hardship, even if they all had to walk by the guidance of *blazed* trees.

Often, as they journeyed thus in company to their homes on Sabbath evenings, they rehearsed to one another the good word of God to which they had listened that day. Many a weary mile did they thus beguile. The young women carried, tied up in a handkerchief, their fine shoes and stockings, together with their linen aprons of their own manufacture, bleached white as snow, nicely folded up and pressed in little squares and triangles, so that the folds would all show when spread out.

When they came near the place of worship, they sat down on a rock, stump, or log, and put on these articles of finery to appear in public; and on their return replaced them as before; and the same foldings of their aprons (on which they prided themselves) were carefully preserved to be opened again the next time; and their fine shoes would last a long time.

They were in those days subject to few diseases; dysentery, pleurisy, some fevers, and, rarely, fever and ague filled the list. They lived in a simple, frugal manner, endured great hardships, eat their meat upon wooden trenchers, and drank their milk from little noggins also of wood, of which a friend of the writer has one carefully preserved, that his ancestors used in those days, and which holds about a pint. Tea was unknown, coffee was little used. It is said that if a merchant brought from Charleston or Philadelphia a small sack of this article, of which such immense quantities are now used, or if a man went to market and brought home a few pounds, he was thought extravagant. It was used only once a week, on Sabbath mornings, or assigned to the sick, while now it is often freely used in some families Three times a day, and regarded as a necessary of life.

When this country first came into their possession, it is represented as being most desirable land, very much like the famed prairies of the West, and altogether different in quality and appearance from what it now is. It was open and mostly clear of timber, so that the sight could reach a great distance. The under-growth was kept down by the Indians burning it over so often. The bottoms were thick cane-brakes, and the hills and plains were covered with a natural growth of wild pea-vines, which furnished abun-

dent pasture for stock of all kinds, which needed little attention, even in winter.

Buffaloes, wolves, bears, deer, panthers, &c., roamed through all the land, furnishing provisions for the early settlers as well as the savages. There are traditions connected with many spots where the ancestors of the present inhabitants saw immense herds of buffaloes. But, alas! they with their associates, the Indians, have disappeared from here forever.

Of the One hundred and eleven names on the Map, about Twenty have become extinct in this region, if not in this part of the country. But many of the descendants of these families have *drifted* off to the West and Southwest, and may be found from here to Texas, New Mexico and California.

Within the limits of this Map are found at this day, not only the parent Church at Statesville (which retains its original name, *Fourth creek*), but those of Concord and Bethany, the first colonies from it. Also, in part, the congregations of Shiloh, Bethesda and Fifth creek. There are, at least, Three Associate Reformed, Four Lutheran, Eight or Ten Methodist, and One Baptist Churches, making more than a score of Churches within the bounds of what was One congregation about One hundred years ago.

And it would be interesting to know how many families there are now, in place of about Two hundred then.

As Episcopacy was then established here by law, this region was included in St. Luke's parish; the church being at Salisbury, Twenty-eight miles from where Statesville is. This was the case when Rowan was cut off from Anson county in 1753. All freeholders were required to meet at the church in Salisbury every third year to elect vestrymen, under a penalty of Twenty shillings.

The author of the Map, William Sharpe, whose name is found in the vicinity of Snow creek, commonly known as "Lawyer William," was the maternal grandfather of Hon. David F. Caldwell, of Salisbury, lately deceased; whose grandfather on the other side, David Caldwell, is also on the Map. William Sharpe was born in Cecil county, Maryland, and when he became of age he migrated to Mecklenburg county, N. C. He had only a common English education, and it is not known where he pursued his legal studies. He married, in 1768, a daughter of David Reese, one of the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration; and soon after settled in Snow creek, where his name is recorded. He practiced surveying extensively; was a member, and sometimes the chairman, of the Committee of Safety in his own county, in 1774-5; was aid to General Rutherford in his expedition against the Cherokees, in 1776. He was influential in establishing that academy in his vicinity, so famous in its day, and almost a college, called "Clio's

“Nursery.” At the time General Davidson was killed at Cowan’s Ford, February, 1781, he was engaged in raising volunteers; and it is reported that he was so imatical to the British that Tarleton offered Five hundred guineas for his head. He was a member of the State Congress in 1775, and of the Continental in 1779-82. He was regarded as a most estimable citizen.\*

NOTICE OF SOME OTHER LOCALITIES: We have already remarked that Statesville was about equidistant from the North and South lines of the State; the Court House of the county was located at the “*Meeting House*” of Fourth Creek Church in 1790.

It has now become an important village, with Two large hotels, and about a dozen stores, on the Western extension of the North Carolina Railroad. It has increased in population and business since the establishment there of the Concord Female College, a fine building on a beautiful site just West of the town, which it overlooks, fronting down the main street. It is now in successful operation, with an able Faculty, in which the North and the South are united; and parents at the North would find this a most excellent place to educate their daughters.

The situation embraces a picturesque mountain scenery for a distance of more than One hundred miles. Among the highest peaks, are to be seen Table Rock, in Burke county, Grand-Father, Hump-Back, Mount Mitchell, in one direction, and Pilot Mountain in the other.”

On the Northwest part of the Map, near the South Yadkin, is the name of William Waddell. We learn from Sprague’s *Annals of the American Pulpit*, that he landed in Charleston, from Ireland, in 1767, and after remaining there a short time he removed to this spot, where, in 1770, Moses, the last of Three sons, was born. He obtained his early education at the Clio Academy in the neighborhood, and became at length Rev. Moses Waddell, D.D., the President of Athens College in Georgia; and the father of Rev. John Waddell, D.D., the President of the State University at Oxford, Mississippi. “Iredell” (says one) “has been the nursery of great and “good men.”

A little West of the center of the Map is the name of William Morrison, on Third creek. He, with two brothers and their families, and the family of a fourth, who died in Pennsylvania, emigrated from that State in 1751, and they settled in this vicinity. They were the ancestors of a large number of families of that name, distinct from those of the same name in Cabarrus county and elsewhere. William, the eldest, built the first mill in this region, which, singularly enough, was spared by the Indians in the French

war, when all the inhabitants were driven into the Fort not far off, and all the other buildings were destroyed.

He was buried in the old graveyard, about a mile West of Concord church, and this request is engraved on his tombstone, “that as he was the first inhabitant of the country, and possessor of “this land, his grave and that on his left” [*that of his wife*] “should not be disturbed.” The reason of this request is, that in Ireland, whence he came in 1730, the custom prevailed of opening graves after a certain number of years, to be filled with new occupants.

Near his house, as an old lady said, “Concord Church was raised the 11<sup>th</sup> of June before they “went to the Cherokee nation.”\* That is, the expedition from this part of the State against that tribe in July, 1776. It has long since been replaced by a new house. Near where James Hall occurs, the father of Rev. James Hall, D.D., Bethany church was erected, in 1779, which stood about Eighty years, when, though the timbers were still sound, it was removed and a new building was placed near the spot.

FORT DOBBS.: After the defeat of General Braddock at Pittsburg, in July, 1755, the Western settlements of the Southern provinces were left exposed to the attack of the savages, which they renewed with vigor and courage. In the course of that summer, Governor Arthur Dobbs, who came into office the year before, visited the Western counties, to ascertain what locations were most favorable for the erection of forts; and when the Legislature met at Newbern, on the twenty-fifth of September, we are told that “he “recommended the erection of a fort between “Third and Fourth creeks, near the South Yad-“kin, in the county of Rowan, near that of Ire-“dell, a central spot between the Northern and “Southern boundaries of the Province.” *Martin’s History*, ii., 82, 83.

When Governor Dobbs came into office he brought from England One thousand firelocks and a few pieces of cannon as a present from the Crown to the Province. The year before his arrival the Legislature had appropriated “One “thousand pounds for the frontier counties of “Anson and Rowan, for purchasing arms and “ammunition for the use of the poorer inhabi-“tants of said counties; Five hundred pounds to “Mr. Caleb Howell and Mr. Charles Robinson of “Anson county; and Five hundred pounds to Mr. “James Carter and Mr. John Brandon, of Rowan “county, to be by them applied for the use of the “respective counties.”†

\* About Twenty years ago, in making inquiries of old people about matters of interest when they were young, an old lady gave this reason for the name *Concord*:—there was a strife about the location, and the party that conquered called it so.

† See *Laws of North Carolina*. Printed by James Davis 1773, p. 151.

The spot where Fort Dobbs was built is *nearly* in the middle of the State, North and South. And the historian tells us that the fort which the Governor recommended was built; and that for this and other purposes, the Legislature granted a supply of Ten thousand pounds. The site of the *fort actually built* does not correspond to the one recommended by the Governor, according to the historian. For that location would carry it Ten or Fifteen miles farther East towards Salisbury; and remove it by so much from the frontier settlements where it was most needed. It would be brought near the present site of Third creek Church, in Rowan.

But we can make the language of Martin correspond to the fact by supposing a mistake in one word; and we remember that Iredell did not exist till 1790, and he is speaking of 1755. Amend then by saying, "he recommended the "erection of a Fort between Third and Fourth "creeks, near the South Yadkin in the County of "Rowan now," (i. e. at the time Martin wrote) "that of Iredell, &c." Put now for *near*, and the statement comes right, and places it in the actual location, and where it was most needed. It was a Block House, "of an oblong shape, 53 feet "long by 43 wide; 24 feet high, and had Three "floors from each of which, above One hundred "muskets could be discharged at once." It is not known what military force was stationed there. The families from the surrounding country fled there for protection, and more or less remained while the war lasted. An old woman born there in 1758, died in 1859. There was no safety for the people anywhere else; they were kept in a constant state of alarm; did they go out to cultivate their lands, they carried their weapons of war, as well as their implements of agriculture. Did they carry their grain to mill, they bore their arms, and imagined every stump by the side of the road an Indian lying in ambush for them. Did they assemble at a "stand," to hear a sermon, their fire-arms were stacked near at hand. They carried their lives in their hands. Men were waylaid and killed in all circumstances; families were found all murdered and scalped on their own floors, if, too confident, they remained at home.

The most disastrous attack of the enemy of which any account is preserved, during the time of the Fort, was when a party of about Twenty men went out for forage to Moses Potts' house, which stood on a branch of Fourth creek. They were attacked at the house very suddenly, and Seven young men were killed and buried there. Some of the remainder escaped and reached the place of safety, but One fell mortally wounded, died, and was buried in front of the house known as the Alex. Higgins place, where his grave is

still seen. This is a specimen of what was of frequent occurrence.

Tradition preserves an account of One, and of only One, attempt of the merciless foe to storm the Fort. In what year, or at what time in the year, this occurred, we are not informed; but it is said to have been, contrary to what we might have expected in Indian warfare, on a bright moon-light night. Their approach was indicated early in the evening by the unusual barking of the dogs. An officer was directed to take a squad of soldiers and go out to scour the woods and drive them away. He was reluctant to go, and was also dissuaded by a female *friend*, when the officer in command said he would go himself.

He drew up his men in a line outside of the fort with the highest officers at each end; these the enemy endeavored to kill. And being in large force, the Indians fired once, and then advanced with their usual war-whoop, and drove the men back into the Fort. They made a desperate effort to take it, but in vain; the well directed fire of muskets from Three floors, with the execution done by the Two cannon of Governor Dobbs, was too much for them. They met with too hot a reception, and soon drew off, crying "Pugh! "Pugh!" and made no further attempt to storm the Fort. It is supposed that they lost a large number, as much blood was found on the leaves and on the ground; but, according to their custom, they carried off their dead, and retreated to the mountains.

This Block-House was near to where the name of Alexander Newbury is found on the Map, and about Three miles North of the town. After the close of the war it was burnt; the remains are still visible. There has always been a tradition in the country that there was a deep well, as we may well suppose there must have been, in the Fort; and that when it was destroyed, the field-pieces of Governor Dobbs were thrown into the well, and it was filled up. In February, 1847, the citizens of the town and vicinity, made an effort to open the well and recover the cannon, but they did not succeed. They were unable to find the spot where the well was; after penetrating about Forty feet, where an excavation had before been made, they came to a solid rock, which the former operators could not penetrate, and must have dug again in some other place. So that those guns, if thrown into the well, are still there.

As this was for several years an important point, and a place of refuge from danger, it became the great center of roads in this part of the country. And as Salisbury, Thirty miles distant, was the oldest town in this part of the State, a military post, and the Court House of the county, there would be much passing between these Two points. But owing to great changes arising

from new arrangements in the country, the roads have altered their direction. "The old Fort "road," as it was called, is almost unknown to the present generation. It came out from Salisbury on the track of the present Sherrill's Fort road to the Catawba, about Fourteen miles; then it crossed Third creek into the present Statesville road, which it followed till within Four miles of the town; it was then divided, and one part went to the right, passing near the house of the upper Thomas Allison on the Map; crossing the mill-pond of the late Andrew N. Allison, on the left-hand prong of Fourth creek, and thus on to the Fort. It is a long time since the last few miles of this road was in use. The other part passed up about a mile West of the town to Morrison's mill, before mentioned, on Third creek, which it crossed a little above, and went thence near Sterling's church to the Island Ford on the Catawba, and so on West. Over the upper portion, and near that ford, Twelve miles West of the town, General Morgan's army passed flying into Virginia before Cornwallis, in 1781, after the battle of Cowpens.

Query with regard to Fort Dobbs: It appears that at that time the Americans had a chain of forts on this side of the Alleghanies corresponding to those of the French on the West side, intended to cut off the Colonies from the great Valley. There was Fort Littleton in Pennsylvania, Sixty miles above Fort Cumberland, in Maryland. Then Winchester, in Virginia, was a great center and rallying point for that State. In 1756, Governor Dinwiddie "projected a chain of frontier forts, from the Potowmac to the borders of North Carolina," "The plan of a frontier line of Twenty-three forts was persisted in."

"As to the sites of the frontier posts, they were decided upon by Washington and his officers, &c." "He visited such as were in progress and near at hand." "In the Autumn he made a tour of inspection along the whole line, &c." From the connection, we infer that this line extended from Fort Loudon (Winchester), South, through Virginia to some point in or on the borders of North Carolina. For the historian adds, when he seems to be speaking of his return after having inspected "the whole line from the Catawba, he was escorted along a range of forts by a Colonel, &c."\* Was Fort Dobbs, erected by the direction of the Governor of North Carolina, in any way connected with this chain or line of forts in Virginia? Did it in any way come under the inspection of Washington and his officers? Did he visit it in the fall of 1756? It was within about Ten miles of the Catawba river, and the only place where, if he approached

the Catawba at all, he would return from it. But the line projected by the Governor of Virginia was to extend only to "the borders of North Carolina." This was not in the province of Washington; there is no tradition in the country that he ever visited this spot. Moreover, he speaks of setting out (apparently from his Southern limit), "and by the protection of Providence reached Augusta Court House in "Seven days," which he could not have done from here. But the Yadkin, with its tributaries, lies between here and the Virginia line, and if he did not cross that, it is difficult to see why the Author mentions the Catawba.

What does he mean by saying, "From the Catawba, &c.?"

E. F. R.

## VII.—PATRICK HENRY.

### 1.—A MEMORANDUM BY THOMAS JEFFERSON.\*

My acq<sup>ee</sup> with mr Henry commenced in the winter of 1759-60. on my way to the college I past the X<sup>mas</sup> holidays at Col<sup>o</sup> Dandridge's, in Hanover, to whom mr Henry was a near neighbor. during the festivity of the season I met him in society every day, & we became well acquainted, altho I was much his junior, being then but in my 17<sup>th</sup> year & he a married man. The spring following he came to W<sup>m</sup>s<sup>bg</sup> to obtain a license as a lawyer, & he called on me at college. he told me he had been reading law only 6. weeks. two of the examiners, however, Peyton & John Randolph, men of great facility of temper, signed his license with as much reluctance as their dispositions would permit them to shew.

mr Wythe absolutely refused. Rob: C. Nicholas refused also at first, but on repeated importunities and promises of future reading, he signed. these facts I had afterwds from the gentlemen themselves, the two Randolphs acknoleging he was very ignorant of law, but that they percieved him to be a young man of genius, & did not doubt he would soon qualify himself.

He was some time after elected a representative of the county of Hanover and brought himself into public notice on the following occasion, which, I think took place in 1762. or a year sooner or later. the gentlemen of this country had at that time become deeply involved in that state of indebtedness which has since ended in so general a crush of their fortunes. Robinson the Speaker was also Treasurer, an officer always chosen by the Assembly. he was an excellent man, liberal, friendly and rich. he had been drawn in to lend

\* From the original manuscript in the office of *The (Philadelphia) Age*.

on his own account great sums of money to persons of this description, & especially those who were of the assembly. he used freely for this purpose the public money, confiding for it's replacement in his own means & the securities he had taken on those loans. about this time however he became sensible that his deficit to the public was become so enormous as that a discovery must soon take place, for as yet the public had no suspicion of it. he devised therefore with his friends in the assembly a plan for a public loan office to a certain amount, from which monies might be lent on public ac<sup>t</sup> & on good landed security to individuals. this was accordingly brought forward in the House of Burgesses, and, had it succeeded, the debts due to Robinson on these loans would have been transferred to the public, & his deficit thus compleetly covered. this state of things however was not yet known; but mr Henry attacked the scheme on other general grounds in that style of bold grand and overwhelming eloquence, for which he became so justly celebrated afterwds. he carried with him all the members of the upper counties, and left a minority composed merely of the aristocracy of the country. from this time his popularity swelled apace, & Robinson dying 4. years after, his deficit was brought to light, & discovered the true object of the proposition.

The next great occasion on which he signalled himself was that which may be considered as the dawn of the Revoln. in March 1774. the British parliament had passed resolns. preparatory to the levying a revenue on the colonies by a stamp tax. the Virginia assembly at their next session, prepared & sent to England very elaborate representants addressed in separate forms to the King, Lords and Commons, against the right to impose such taxes. the famous stamp act was, however, past in Jan. 1765 and in the session of the Virgi assembly of May following, mr Henry introduced the celebrated resolns of that date. these were drawn by George Johnston, a lawyer of the Northern neck, a very able, logical and correct spe<sup>r</sup>ker. mr Henry moved and Johnston seconded these resolns successively. they were opposed by Randolph, Blood, Pendleton, Nicholas, Wythe & all the old members whose influence in the house had till then been unbroken. they did it, not from any question of our rights, but on the ground that the same sentiments had been at their preceding session expressed in a more conciliatory form to which the answers were not yet received. but torrents of sublime eloquence from mr Henry, backed by the solid reasoning of Johnston, prevailed. the last however, & strongest resoln was carried but by a single vote. the debate on it was most bloody. I was then but a student and was listening at the door of the lobby (for as yet there was no gallery) when Peyton Randolph,

after the vote, came out of the house and said, as he entered the lobby "By god I would have given 500 guineas for a single vote" for as this would have divided the house, the vote of Robinson, the speaker, would have rejected the resolution. mr Henry left town that evening and the next morning before the meeting of the house, I saw Peter Randolph, then of the Council, but who had formerly been clerk to the house, for an hour or two at the clerk's table searching the old journals for a precedent while he was clerk, of a resolution of the house erased from the journals by a subsequent order of the house, whether he found it or not I do not remember; but when the house met, a motion was made & carried to erase that resoln; and there being at that day but one printer, & he entirely under the controul of the governor, I do not know that this resoln ever appeared in print. I write this from memory, but the impression made on me, at the time, was such as to fix the facts indelibly in my mind.

I came into the Legislature as a burgess for Albermarle in the winter of 1768/9. on the accession of Ld. Botetourt to the government and about 9. years after mr Henry had entered on the stage of public life. the exact conformity of our political opinions strengthened our friendship, and indeed, the old leaders of the house being substantially firm, we had not after this any differences of opn in the H. of B.<sup>on</sup> matters of principle, tho sometimes on matters of form. we were dissolved by Ld Botetourt at our first session; but all were re-elected. there being no divisions among us, occasions became very rare for any display of mr H.'s eloquence. in ordinary business he was a very inefficient member. he could not draw a bill on the most simple subject which wd bear legal criticism, or even the ordinary criticism which looks to correctness of style & idea for indeed there was no accuracy of idea in his head. his imagination was copious, poetical, sublime, but vague also. he said the strongest things in the finest language, but without logic, without arrangement, desultory. this appeared eminently & in a mortifying degree in the 1<sup>st</sup> session of the 1<sup>st</sup> Congress which met in Sep 1774.

mr Henry & Richard Henry Lee took at once the lead in that assembly, and by the high style of their eloquence were in the first days of the session looked up to as *primi inter pares*. a petition to the King, an Address to the people of G Britain, and a Memorial to the people of British America were agreed to be drawn. Lee, Henry & others were appointed for the first, & Lee, Livingston & Jay for the two last. the splendor of their debut occasioned mr Henry to be designated by his commee to draw the petn to the king, with which they were charged, and mr Lee was charged with the address to the people of England. the last was first reported. on reading it every coun-

tenance fell and a dead silence ensued for many minutes. at length, it was laid on the table for perusal and considern till the next day when first one member, and then another arose, & paying some faint compliments to the composition observed that there were still certain considerns not expressed in it, which should properly find a place in it. at length mr Livingston (the Govr of N. J.) a member of the commee rose & observed that a friend of his had been sketching what he had thought might be proper for such an address, from which he thought some paragraphs might be advantageously introduced into the draught proposed: and he read an address which mr Jay had prepared *de bene esse* as it were. There was but one sentiment of admirn. the address was re-committed for amendment, and mr Jay's draught reported & adopted with scarce any altern. these facts were stated to me by mr Pendleton and Col<sup>o</sup>. Harrison of our own delegation, except that Col<sup>o</sup>. Harrison ascribed the draught to Govr, Livingston & were afterwards confirmed to me by Gov'r Livingston, & I will presently mention an anecdote confirmative of them from mr Jay and R. H. Lee themselves.

Mr. Henry's draught of a petn to the king was equally unsuccessful, and was recommitted for amendment. mr John Dickerson was added to the commee & a new draught prepared by him was passed.

The occasion of my learning from mr Jay that he was the author of the Address to the people of Gr. Britain requires explanation by a statement of some preceding circumstances. The 2<sup>d</sup> session of the 1<sup>st</sup> Congress met on their own adjmt in May, 1775. Peyton Randolph was their president. in the meantime Ld. North's conciliatory proposns came over to be laid by the Governors before their legislatures. Ld. Dunmore accedly called that of Virginia to meet in June. This obliged P. Randolph as Speaker to return. our other old members being at Congress, he pressed me to draw the answer to Ld. North's proposn. I accedly did so, and it passed with a little softening of some expressions for which the times were not yet ripe & wire-drawing & weakening some others to satisfy individuals. I had been appointed to go on to Congress in place of Peyton Randolph, & proceeded immediately, charged with presenting this answer to Congress. as it was the first which had been given, and the tone of it was strong the members were pleased with it hoping it would have a good effect on the answers of the other states. a Commee which had been appointed to prepare a Declaration to be published by Genl. Washington on his arrival at the army, having reported one, it was recommitted, & Dickinson & myself added to the commee. on the adjournment of the house happening to go out with Govr. Livingston, one of the Commee, I

expressed to him my hope he would draw the Declaration. he modestly excused himself, & expressed his wish that I would do it. but urging him with considerable importunity, he at length said "you & I, sir, are but new acquaintances: "what can have excited so earnest a desire on "your part that I should be the draughtsman ?" "Why, sir, said I, I have been informed you "drew the Address to the people of Gr. Brit. I "think it the first composition in the English "language, & therefore am anxious this declaration should be prepared by the same pen." He "replied, that I might have been misinformed on "that subject" a few days after, being in conversation with R. H. Lee in Congress till a little before the meeting of the house, mr Jay observing us, came up, & taking R. H. Lee by a button of the coat said to him pretty sternly, "I understand, Sir, that you informed this gentleman "that the Address to the people of Gr. Br. presented to the commee by me was drawn by "Govr. Livingston." the fact was that the Commee having consisted of only Lee, Livingston, who was fath-in l. of Jay & Jay himself & Lee's draught having been rejected & Jay's approved so unequivocally, his suspicions naturally fell on Lee as author of the report; & the rather as they had daily much sparring in Congress, Lee being firm in the revolutionary measures, and Jay hanging heavily on their rear. I immediately stopped mr Jay, and assured him that tho' I had indeed been so informed, it was not by mr Lee, whom I had never heard utter a word on the subject.

I found mr Henry to be a silent & almost unmeddling member in Congress. on the original opening of that body, while general grievances were the topic, he was in his element & captivated all by his bold & splendid eloquence. but as soon as they came to specific matters, to sober reasoning and solid argumentation he had the good sense to perceive that his declamation however excellent in it's proper place, had no weight at all in such an assembly as that, of cool-headed, reflecting, judicious men. he ceased therefore in a great measure to take any part in the business. he seemed indeed very tired of the place & wonderfully relieved when, by appointment of the Virginia convention to be Col<sup>o</sup>. of their 1<sup>st</sup> regiment he was permitted to leave Congress about the last of July. how he acquitted himself in his military command will be better known from others. he was relieved from this position again by being appointed Governor on the first organization of the government. after my service as his successor in the same office my appointment to Congress in 1783. mission to Europe in 84. & appointment in the new govt in 89. kept us so far apart that I had no further personal knolege of him.

Mr Henry began his career with very little property. he acted, as I have understood, as barkeeper in the tavern at Hanover C. H. for sometime. he married very young; settled, I believe, at a place called the Roundabout in Louisa, got credit for some little store of merchandize, but very soon failed. from this he turned his views to the law, for the acquisition or practice of which however he was too lazy. whenever the courts were closed for the winter session, he would make up a party of poor hunters of his neighborhood, would go off with them to the pinywoods of Fluvanna, and pass weeks in hunting deer, of which he was passionately fond, sleeping under a tent, before a fire, wearing the same shirt the whole time, & covering all the dirt of his dress with a hunting-shirt. he never undertook to draw pleadings if he could avoid it or to manage that part of a cause & very unwillingly engaged but as an assistant, to speak in the cause. and the fee was an indispensable preliminary, observing to the applicant that he kept no accounts, never putting pen to paper, w<sup>ch</sup> was true. his powers over a jury were so irresistible that he received great fees for his services, & had the reputation of being insatiable in money. after about 10. years practice in the County courts he came to the Genl. court, where however being totally unqualified for anything but mere jury causes, he devoted himself to these, & chiefly to the criminal business. from these poor devils it was always understood that he squeezed exorbitant fees of £50, 100. & 200£. from this source he made his great profits, & they were said to be great. his other business, exclusive of the criminal, would never, I am sure, pay the expenses of his attendance. he now purchased from mr Lomax the valuable estate on the waters of Smith's river, to which he afterwards removed. the purchase was on long credit & finally paid in depreciated paper not worth oak leaves. about the close of the war he engaged in the Yazoo speculation, & bought up a great deal of depreciated paper at 2/ & 2/6 in the pound to pay for it. at the close of the war, many of us wished to reopen all accounts which had been paid in depreciated money, and have them settled by the scale of depreciation. but on this he frowned most indignantly, & knowing the general indisposition of the legislature, it was considered hopeless to attempt it with such an opponent at their head as Henry. I believe he never distinguished himself so much as on the similar question of British debts in the case of Jones & Walker. he had exerted a degree of industry in that case totally foreign to his character, and not only seemed, but had made himself really learned on the subject. another of the great occasions on which he exhibited examples of eloquence such as probably had never

been exceeded, was on the question of adopting the new constitution in 1788. to this he was most violently opposed, as is well known; and after its adoption he continued hostile to it, expressing more than any other man in the U. S. his thorough contempt & hatred of Genl. Washington. from being the most violent of all anti-federalists however he was brought over to the new constitution by his Yazoo speculation, before mentioned. the Georgia legislature having declared that transaction fraudulent & void, the depreciated paper which he had bought up to pay for the Yazoo purchase was likely to remain on his hands worth nothing. but Hamilton's funding system came most opportunely to his relief, and suddenly raised his paper from 2/6 to 27/6 the pound. Hamilton became now his idol, and, abandoning the republican advocates of the constitution, the federal government on federal principles became his political creed. Genl. Washington flattered him by an appointment to a mission to Spain, which he declined; & by proposing to him the office of Secretary of State, on the most earnest solicitation of Gen<sup>l</sup> Henry Lee, who pledged himself that Henry should not accept it; for Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington knew that he was entirely unqualified for it, & moreover that his self-esteem had never suffered him to act as second to any man on earth. I had this fact from information, but that of the mission to Spain is of my own knolage because after my retiring from the office of Secy of State Genl. Washington passed the papers to mr Henry through my hands. mr Henry's apostacy sunk him to nothing in the estimation of his country; he lost at once all that influence which federalism had hoped, by cajoling him, to transfer with him to itself and a man who thro a long & active life had been the idol of his country beyond any one that ever lived, descended to the grave with less than it's indifference, and verified the saying of the philosopher, that no man must be called happy till he is dead.

## 2.—MR. JEFFERSON AND PATRICK HENRY.\*

We read the other day in the Philadelphia *Age* a curious tract or memorandum by Mr. Jefferson on Patrick Henry. It is not a pleasant document. As it bears no date, one can only conjecture the circumstances and influences under which it was written, and it is natural to attribute it to that portion of Mr. Jefferson's life when, in absolute retirement at Monticello, he allowed himself to be embittered not only by memories of past animosities, but to be irritated into fresh re-

\* Communicated to *The (New York) World*; and published in that paper on the second of August, 1867.

sentments by busy, gossiping correspondents. His old age was not, in this respect, a picturesque one. He had the misfortune to keep a "Note-book" and a "Diary," and there he jotted down not only the occurrences of the day, which is the most innocent form of the nuisance "Diary," but what other people told him and what he fancied were his recollections. This Patrick Henry memorandum reads very much like a page from *Ana.* Mr. Jefferson never duly measured the new terror of death—posthumous publication of his private papers, and he has suffered grievously from it. Not so much, perhaps, as his great rival Hamilton, whose fame has literally been slaughtered by an unnatural son, but still the work of self-disparagement was pretty well done. His relatives and biographers have illustrated another defect of personal character, which is now very prominent. Mr. Jefferson never seemed to rise to the dignity of proud contentment with the great triumph which he and his party won over the Federalists, and which kept them in full possession of the Government for a quarter of a century—from 1800 to 1825. Mr. Madison did. Mr. Jefferson seemed always in a funk—in a political fret. He was always thinking of the Federalists and their chiefs as if they were in full life and in the field against him—angrily of Hamilton, who was in his bloody grave; as angrily of Burr, who had put him there, though an exile and an outcast; of Henry Lee; of Judge Marshall, who was out of his way and moving innocently in the pure serene of his high function; of Washington; and now, it seems, of Patrick Henry. On his tomb, Mr. Jefferson long after wrote what we must describe as the ill-natured epitaph which the *Age*, though evidently with some misgiving, reproduces.

As to Mr. Jefferson's recollections of Henry in early life and his comments on his professional qualifications and intellectual characteristics, we can say nothing. They may be just or not. Mr. Jefferson was a man of the pen and not of the tongue. Patrick Henry was the reverse. Mr. Jefferson, in this memorandum, bows down in reverence to the triumphs of the pen, even when won by those whom he disliked as much as he did Mr. Jay and Mr. Dickinson. He rather pooh-poohs the "orator," and this thread of disparagement of Henry's intellect runs through this whole criticism, and must, we think, be apparent to every one. But there is, in our judgment, a graver defect in this "character" of Henry. It is historically inexact. It is worth notice, too, that Mr. Jefferson, who was a rhetorical artist, puts the sharp sting at the end. After whittling away Mr. Henry's good name on small matters, and leaving chips all about him as to his "rapacity for fees," and his "parsimony," and "the Yazoo speculation," he winds

up with the following, in which the reader will observe that at one blow, in which all his spiteful energies are concentrated, he strikes Washington, Lee, and Henry.

"General Washington flattered him by an appointment to a mission to Spain, which he declined; and by proposing to him the office of Secretary of State, on the most earnest solicitation of General Henry Lee, who pledged himself that Henry should not accept it. For General Washington knew that he was entirely unqualified for it, and moreover, that his self-esteem had never suffered him to act as second to any man on earth. I had this fact from information; but that of the mission to Spain is of my own knowledge, because, after my retiring from the office of Secretary of State, General Washington passed the papers to Mr. Henry through my hands. Mr. Henry's apostacy sunk him to nothing in the estimation of his country. He lost at once all that influence which Federalism had hoped, by cajoling him, to transfer with him to itself, and a man who, through a long and active life, had been the idol of his country beyond any one that ever lived, descended to the grave with less than its indifference, and verified the saying of the philosopher, that 'no man must be called happy until he is dead.'

Here, so far as facts are concerned, Washington and Lee are most disparaged—the former as party to a small stratagem for buying up a political adversary by an offer (and that, too, of a Cabinet office) which he knew would not be accepted; and General Lee as the go-between on the occasion. Unfortunately for Mr. Jefferson, facts (stubborn things), as now ascertained, do not support his theory. He ignores the fact that between Washington and Henry there had always been a kind feeling dating as far back as 1777, when Henry refused to join the "Cabal." Differences as to the Federal Constitution before its adoption, in which we incline to think, from what we see now-a-days, Henry was right, separated them. But concurrence of opinion as to the insanity of the French Revolution—the bloody radicalism of the Convention in France, so like our "Convention" in the District of Columbia—brought them together again. This it is that Mr. Jefferson, crazy as he was on the subject of France, never forgave. *Hinc illae objurcationes.* As to the traffic for posts in the Washington Cabinet, there is not a shadow of foundation for the gossip. The private letters on the subject, unseen, of course, by Mr. Jefferson, are now in print. They tell a story very different from his imaginings. On the seventeenth of August, 1794, Lee wrote to Washington that he had met Mr. Henry in Virginia, who expressed some fears that mischief had been made, and that he (Henry) was

looked upon as "a factious and seditious man," by the President. "He seems," says Lee, "to be deeply and sorely affected. It is very much to be regretted, for he is a man of positive virtue "as well as of transcendent talents." Washington replied at once that there was no foundation for this idea; and added, and it shows how long Washington remembered the base means once employed to ruin him: "On the question of the Constitution, Mr. Henry and myself, it is well known, have been of different opinions, but personally I have always respected and esteemed him; nay more, I have conceived myself under obligations to him for the friendly manner in which he transmitted to me *some insidious anonymous writings that were sent to him in the close of the year 1777* with a view to embark him in the opposition forming against me at that time." This was communicated to Henry, who at once said in a letter, every word of which is instinct with patriotism: "My present views are to spend my days in privacy. If however it shall please God, during my life, so to order the course of events as to render my feeble efforts necessary for the safety of the country in any, even the smallest degree, that little which I can do shall be done. Whenever you may have an opportunity, I shall be much obliged by your presenting my best respects and duty to the President, assuring him of my gratitude for his favorable sentiment towards me." It was in this letter he said, "Although a Democrat myself, I like not the late Democratic Societies."

These Societies, we all know, were Mr. Jefferson's pets, even when he was in Washington's Cabinet. In October, 1795, Washington wrote, not to Lee, whose agency in reconciliation had long since ceased, but to Edward Carrington, that he was desirous to bring Mr. Henry into his Cabinet, but feared he would not accept the place; and on the ninth of October he offered him the post of Secretary of State. Mr. Jefferson says he made the offer knowing he was unfit, and under an assurance from Lee that it would not be accepted—a very disingenuous and discreditable trick. Washington's letter lies before us and we wish we had room to print every word of it. Its first words—remember, reader, it is Washington who writes—"Whatever may be the reception of this letter, truth and candor shall mark its steps. You doubtless know that the office of State is vacant; and no one can be more sensible than yourself of the importance of filling it with a person of abilities, and one in whom the public would have confidence. My wish is that you will accept it," and then he adds:

"My ardent desire is, and my aim has been, as far as depended upon the Executive Department, to comply strictly with all our engagements, foreign and domestic; but to keep the United

"States free from connections with every other country, to see them independent of all, and under the influence of none. In a word, I want an *American* character, that the powers of Europe may be convinced we act for ourselves and not for others. This, in my judgment, is the only way to be respected abroad and happy at home, and not, by becoming the partisans of Great Britain or France, create dissensions, disturb the public tranquillity, and destroy, perhaps, forever the cement which binds the Union. I am satisfied these sentiments cannot be other wise than congenial with your own. I ask your aid in carrying them into effect."

Does this look like a half-hearted offer, such as Mr. Jefferson represents it? Mr. Henry declined the position in a letter which has not been preserved, and Colonel Pickering was appointed.

In the last years of their lives Washington and Henry corresponded on terms of the most affectionate intimacy. Washington begged him to go back to the Virginia Legislature, which he did; and it was at this time Henry wrote a letter, from which we wish, in conclusion, we could make some extracts, every word of which, if seen, would have been gall and wormwood to Mr. Jefferson and his Gallo-maniacs. We are compelled here to close our effort to do exact justice to the honored dead—especially the dead of that great and glorious Commonwealth—the mother of States and creator of the Constitutional Union. Now, Niobe in her voiceless woe.

### 3.—THOMAS JEFFERSON AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.\*

There was printed, yest' rday, on the editorial page of *The World*, an interesting communication on Jefferson and Patrick Henry. Lest the place we gave it should be deemed to imply assent, we wish to state that, in several particulars, the article expressed views which are not ours. Its apparent purpose was to defend Washington, by documentary proofs, against the opinion of Jefferson, that he had tendered to Patrick Henry the office of Secretary of State, expecting and wishing that Henry would decline it. The defence seems successful; but the acrimonious vivacity with which the writer depicts the old age of Jefferson was not called for by the occasion. The unlovely view of that statesman's later years is quite different from the one his correspondence, and the published accounts of visitors and inmates, had led us to adopt; but we have no space for that general question. The writer makes that topic relevant by his conjecture that a memoran-

\* From *The (New York) World*, of the third of August, 1867.

dum expresssing the opinion he contests was written after Jefferson's retirement. If the opinion in question had just come to light, and had never been expressed by Jefferson except in that memorandum, the conjecture respecting its date might perhaps make it pertinent to account for the opinion by the suspicious peevishness of old age. But, in point of fact, this opinion was expressed by Jefferson at the time of the transactions, before he was elected Vice-President, and before Patrick Henry had given that adhesion to the Federalists which was subsequent to, if not in consequence of, these proffers of office.

In a letter dated July 10, 1796, Jefferson told Monroe: "Most assiduous court has been paid to "Patrick Henry. *He has been offered everything which they knew he would not accept.* Some impression is thought to be made, but we do not "believe it is radical. If they thought they could "count upon him, they would run him for their "Vice-President; their first object being to "produce a schism in this State. As it is, they will "run Mr. Pinckney." It seems to us, therefore that in combating this opinion, there was nothing in its date, or the circumstances of its formation, requiring a repulsive picture of Mr. Jefferson's old age. The resemblance, so far as it has any, is that of caricature; and it is irrelevant.

A scholar so erudite and so ripe in habits of historical research as is our contributor can have but slight respect for the authority of a writer like Hildreth, who dumps all his authorities in a heap at the end of his last volume, and never by specific references enables us to test the value of any particular statement. But we are not aware that Hildreth's honesty has ever been impeached. The fact that a statement is made by him may be taken as a proof that he found authority for it somewhere. Hildreth corroborates the statement of Jefferson, which our correspondent contradicts, that the office of Secretary of State was offered to Patrick Henry on Henry Lee's suggestion. That opinion must have had sufficient currency to exonerate Jefferson from the suspicion of having wantonly invented it. Hildreth also ascribes Henry's surprising conversion from the most violent of all the opponents of the Constitution to a stiff Federalist in part to personal motives. "Few "persons," says Hildreth, "are insensible to personal motives, and besides these political considerations urged by Washington, Henry had "strong personal reasons for thinking well of, "and giving his support to, that system of Government which he had once so vehemently "opposed. *Within a few years past* [previous to 1799] "he had entered extensively into the pre- "vailing land speculations, and, more judicious "and fortunate than many others, he had been "made wealthy by the appreciation of his landed "property."

Our contributor ascribes Jefferson's opinion of Henry's unfitness for the office of Secretary of State to his inability to appreciate an orator. In point of fact, Jefferson had a lively appreciation of oratorical excellence, and his admiration of Henry as an orator was unbounded. There is abundant evidence, in his Autobiography and Correspondence, of his high estimate of Henry's wonderful powers, of his patriotism, and of his eminent services in setting in motion the ball of the Revolution. In his Autobiography, begun in 1821, at the age of Seventy-seven, Jefferson bears this shining testimony to Henry's prodigious powers: "I attended the debate at the door of the "lobby of the House of Burgesses, and heard the "splendid display of Mr. Henry's talents as a "popular orator. *They were great indeed, such as I never heard from any other man. He appeared to me to speak as Homer wrote.* My recollections of these transactions may be seen in page 60 of the *Life of Patrick Henry*, by Wirt, to "whom I furnished them." Wirt, who was a fervent admirer of Henry, constantly consulted Jefferson about his Biography, submitted to him the proof sheets as they were printed, and asked his corrections and suggestions. He was led to do this by the frequency and fondness with which Jefferson was accustomed to allude to Henry in conversation. The habitual kindness of Jefferson's allusions to Patrick Henry appear in the published memoranda and letters of persons who lived with him at Monticello in his last years.

Our contributor says that, in his old age, Jefferson "was always thinking angrily of Hamilton, "who was in his bloody grave." This is in contradiction to evidence which we suppose to be authentic. In Martin Van Buren's posthumous work on Political Parties there is a letter, written to him at his request, by Nicholas P. Trist, who married Jefferson's granddaughter and lived in his family, describing the general tone and purport of Jefferson's remarks on Hamilton. Mr. Van Buren states that in his visit to Monticello, they talked more of Hamilton than upon any other topic, and that Jefferson spoke of him in the same liberal spirit described by Mr. Trist.

We have given to this subject all the space we deem fitting, although there are other things in the contribution we published yesterday, from which we dissent. As to the matter which forms the gist of the writer's criticism, even his rebutting evidence proves, not indeed that Washington believed Henry would not accept, as Jefferson alleged, but that he "feared" he would not—and the event showed that the fears were perfectly well-founded.

VIII.—THE INVASION OF CANADA, IN  
1775.

A FRAGMENT OF A LETTER FROM COLONEL HENRY CALDWELL TO GENERAL JAMES MURRAY.\*

ON BOARD THE *Hunter*, SLOOP-OF-WAR, {  
June 15, 1776. }

MY DEAR GENERAL:

In my last letter, I gave you a full account of the state of our Province at that time. I am not now certain whether Arnold had arrived when my letter went away; he, however, with the greatest difficulty, got, with about 800 men, to Sertigan, in the beginning of November. The people, from hunger and fatigue, were in a very weak condition; so much so that fifty men properly posted, might have made the whole party prisoners; nor, indeed, could they have got forward, had not the Canadians sent bullocks and other provisions to meet them.

The 8<sup>th</sup> they got to Pointe Levy, where they took post, as also at my mill. The fellow whom I had employed to put the mill in order, and who was to have had a share in the profits of it, turned out a great scoundrel, put me to great expense, and has proved to be in the rebel interest. He contrived to detain some of my flour, and two hundred bushels of my wheat, which was at the mill, for the rebels' use; he afterwards was appointed their Commissary of Provisions, and acted in that position till the siege or blockade—which ever you please to term it—was raised, which happened on the 6<sup>th</sup> May, on the arrival of the *Iris*, man-of-war, and two frigates with some transports, and the 29th Regiment; a frigate also arrived a few days after, with the transports of the 47th Regiment from Halifax.

I think, in my last letter, I mentioned to you the surrender of St. John's; a few days after, Generals Carleton and Prescott evacuated Montreal, with about one hundred and fifty men, the remains of the 7th and 26th Regiments, with the staff, who embarked in the *Gaspé*, sloop-of-war, and some armed vessels that lay there; they fell down the river till they got within a few leagues of Sorel, where the enemy, by that time, had taken post, and erected batteries of 2, 3, 6, 9, and 12-pounders each. The wind not serving, the ships stopped there about the 16th of November, when Gen. Carleton quitted the *Gaspé* in the night, escaped in a birch canoe, and arrived at Quebec about the 20th. Two days after, as we were told, the pilots on board the vessels mutinied, and refused to conduct them past the batteries; and Prescott, with his people, surrendered,

with, I suppose, about 100 seaman, chiefly Canadians, that were on board the different vessels—I must confess, to my great surprise. Nor have I been able to account for it, since there must have been some circumstances with which we were unacquainted; for the pilots might have been obliged to do their duty, and, waiting for a leading gale of wind, the ships might have passed the narrows with little loss, in spite of the batteries on the shore, or a floating battery, which, by means of a heavy gun, might have been kept at a distance, and annoyed them a little. Be it as it may, our garrison at Quebec suffered considerably in the loss of the men and officers that were taken.

In the mean time, Arnold, as I before told you, had taken post of Pointe Levy, with about 800 men; not a soldier at Quebec but Col. McLean, who just arrived about that time from Sorel, from whence he had been obliged to decamp, with about 100 of his new corps of emigrants; about 60 of the Fusileers, composed chiefly of their recruits, and about 100 recruits of McLean's corps, which Malcolm Fraser and Captain Campbell had raised in Newfoundland, and had just landed. The *Lizard*, frigate, arrived also about the same time, with £20,000 cash; though that gave us some spirits, yet the town was in great danger of being given up, through the cabals of the disaffected, whom Cramahé permitted to remain in town, notwithstanding the repeated representations made to him to order them away. Indeed, to tell the truth, I believe he was thoroughly frightened.

However, a kind of Council of War was summoned, at which the Captains of the *Lizard* and *Hunter*, sloops, Colonels McLean and I, with some others, assisted. It was there determined that the town should be defended to the last; and that it was for the King's service that the *Lizard* and *Hunter* should winter at Quebec, and their crews assist in the defence of the place. That an embargo should be laid on the ships in the harbour; and that their masters and crews should also assist. The money was got on shore; and the militia assembled. The Canadians, at first, were very lukewarm, and said if the English inhabitants would defend the town, they would; and the British subjects, to their eternal honour, not only set an example on that, but on every other occasion during the siege.

We were about 330, officers included; everybody did duty, either as officers or privates, and I can assure you, duty was never done with more punctuality or earnestness. Inhabitants worth £3,000 or £4,000, standing sentry in their turn, during our severe winter nights, with the greatest alacrity; and what is still more to their honour (as it was found necessary to mix the guards, British and Canadians), they submitted

\* From *Manuscripts relating to the early History of Canada*, recently published under the auspices of The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

with the greatest cheerfulness to the command of the Canadian officers, whom they held cheap, and who were in reality their inferiors, both as to education and fortune. Indeed, in general, I had the greatest reason to be satisfied with my corps (for Cramahé gave up his share of the command of it, never making his appearance out of doors, the whole winter.) Indeed, the better kind of people, by keeping up a spirit of emulation amongst them, hardly ever put it in my power to reprimand them; those of a lower class were kept in very good order, by fining them of their pay, and by the black-hole, on bread and water,—a punishment they were much afraid of;—and though, at first, I didn't attempt it, yet in a little time, I brought them to it without murmuring.

Arnold crossed the river about the 14th of November; landing at Wolf's Cove and Sillery; and marched directly to *Sans Bruit*, where he surprised some of my servants, who were busy loading some of my carts and waggons for town. They got there before day, seized on all my working bullocks, about 20, and 4 or 5 fat ones, with all my horses; and there they lived away on my beef and potatoes, about a week, when they retreated to Pointe-au-Tremble, on a rumour of our intentions to attack them from the town; for their ammunition had been spoiled, carrying through the woods, so that they had not more than 4 rounds a man; and their shoes and clothes were all in pieces, and the men themselves but ill recovered from their fatigues; we had indeed talked of attacking them the morning they passed the river, and I wished for it much from the idea I had formed of their situation, but our field-pieces were not in readiness, and that plan was laid aside: the day Arnold retreated, General Carleton arrived.

I saw, as affairs were situated, that the public service might suffer by my being on bad terms with him, and resolving that every thing should give way to that, I went to see him, which I had not done for six months before; and we have been on good terms ever since.

On the General's arrival, he ordered all the people that were disaffected and those that did not choose to take up arms, out of town, on pain of being taken up and treated as spies. That Order strengthened the garrison considerably. We could guard against open and avowed enemies, but not against those lurking about town: cabals then ceased; and every body seemed zealous for the public service; the Bonfields left the town on that occasion; Wells, Zachary McCauley, Murdock Stewart, John McCord, and several others, amongst whom were four or five of the militia officers appointed by Cramahé. It is not doubted whether your friend, Mr. Allsop, would have been of the number, had it not been

for the employments he held. He continued, however, to be almost the only man in the garrison that did not do duty; pleading his business as Commissary, to which employment Mr. Carleton named him.

When Arnold retreated, I got in a little of my hay, some oats, wheat, &c, but they again returned whilst I had about 15,000 bundles of hay out; and a day or two before their return, as I suppose, some Canadians, wanting to pilfer something at *Sans Bruit*, where I had only an old man to take care of the house, the fire from his pipe, I imagine, fell in some hay (of which there was a quantity in each room to serve as beds to the Yankees) set it on fire, and before morning, the house was burned to the ground. The out-house, however, still remained; and La Gorgendière's house was then in pretty good repair; but when the siege was raised, it was pitiful to behold the desolation and waste that reigned about all my farms; the barns and stables torn to pieces and burned; the fences torn all to pieces; and though the house at La Gorgendière's was not burned, yet it was torn to pieces. In the inside, the floors torn up and useless, the windows all broken, and the offices entirely destroyed; that, however, must be my future residence,\* and I have given orders to have it repaired. That I have suffered in my fences and farms, &c, &c., including hay, carts, and ploughs, and, at my mill, in wheat and flour stolen, independent of the destruction of my houses and offices, which you can form an idea of, (and which must have cost you about £2,000)† is not less than £100 sterling, for I had just got every thing in order, and was beginning to put myself snug and comfortable, when those plunderers came to disturb me. However, they have not gained much by their expedition; and I flatter myself Government will take compassion on a poor ruined farmer who has not been inactive in their service. The burning of my house led me into this digression.

The day after this happened, my clerk, (Joshua Wolf) trying to save some more work, was taken prisoner by some of the enemy's flying parties; and a few days after, General Montgomery (brother to him, you might remember, at Quebec) and lately a Captain in the 17th Regiment, and your old acquaintance and friend, Colonel Donald Campell, Quarter-master-general, arrived at Hollland's house (now the rebel head-quarters.)

We were not idle, in the meantime, in town: we got the merlons and embrasures repaired, platforms laid, guns mounted, the picketing at

\* La Gorgendière's house stood close to where the residence at Belmont has since been built.

† This sentence can leave no doubt that this letter was addressed to Genl. James Murray; as it is well that he had once owned, and sold, the estates in this neighborhood to Colonel Caldwell.

Cape Diamond and behind the Hotel Dieu repaired; barriers were made between the upper and lower town, and at the extremities of the lower town, at Sault-au-Matelot, and at the other side, at Près-de-Ville, which, you may remember, is on the further side of the King's Wharf, past the old King's Forges; these posts were strengthened with cannon.

In that situation, we were in the month of December; about the 14th, Mr. Montgomery got a battery formed of gabions, filled with snow and rammed close, with water thrown on it, which made it freeze, which, intermixed with fascines and snow, did not answer well; but as well as could be expected. On this battery, he mounted five guns, 12 and 9-pounders; and then sent a flag of truce, which the General would not receive, except on condition that they came to implore the King's mercy, which, indeed, was the way he treated several flags of truce that the enemy wanted to send in. Mr. Montgomery then contrived to have several letters thrown into the town on arrows, directed to the — and inhabitants of the town, full of threats and scurility. He then opened his battery, which was erected on a rising ground, in a line with the tanners, who lived on the road to *Sans Bruit*, but without any effect; and Arnold's corps, which took post in St. Roch, under our walls, were continually firing at our sentries—the three Rifle companies in particular—these sometimes wounding a sentry. They also got seven Royals behind Grant's house,\* and threw a number of shells into town, also to no effect; and their battery was soon silenced, and some of their guns dismounted by the superior fire from the town.

About the 23rd, at night, my clerk made his escape, and brought with him one of their people. He effected it by getting a bottle of rum, and making the sentry over him drunk. He brought us the first certain accounts of their intention to storm the town; of their having ladders prepared; and of the different attacks that they were to make, as talked of amongst their troops; that Mr. Montgomery had declared his intention of dining in Quebec, on Christmas day; and, in public Orders, he promised the plunder of the town to his soldiers, which we afterwards found was true.

We had before kept a good look out, but this put us more on our guard. The few regular troops, such as they were, were off-guard, ordered to be accoutered, with their fire-arms beside them; the sailors, formed into a corps, under the command of Capt. Hamilton, of the *Lizard*, lay in their barracks in the same manner; and the two corps of militia, assembled at different points to take their rest, in the same manner also.

They remained quiet until the 31st of December; about five o'clock in the morning we were alarmed at our picket by Capt. Frazer, who was Captain of the main guard, and returning from his rounds, told us that there was a brisk firing kept up at Cape Diamond. The morning was dark, and at that time a drizzling kind of snow falling. McLean (who was second in command in the garrison, and who really, to do him justice, was indefatigable in the pains he took) begged that I would take part of my corps to Cape Diamond; and if I found it a false attack (as we both supposed it to be), after leaving the necessary reinforcements there, I might return with the rest. I accordingly went there, found the enemy firing at a distance; saw there was nothing serious intended; and after ordering a proper disposition to be made, proceeded to *Port Louis*. There I met Captain Laws, an officer to whom the General had given the command of an extra picket, composed of the best men of the detachment of the 7th and McLean's corps there; him I ordered back again to wait the General's orders, and proceeded to St John's Gate, where I first learned that the enemy had surprised the post at Sault-au-Matelot, and had got into the Lower Town.

I still had part of the B. Militia with me, and took upon me also to send some whom I found unnecessary on the ramparts, to the party, to wait for orders; and took an officer with a small party of the Fusileers with me, by Palace Gate, just at the time when the officer I had mentioned to you, with about 70 men, was ordered to make a sortie and attack the enemy at the Sault-au-Matelot in the rear. I hastened, with what expedition I could, by the back of the Hotel Dieu, in the Lower Town; and on my way, passed by the picket drawn up under the field-officer of the day, who was Major Cox, formerly of the 47th, and now Lieut.-Governor of Gaspé. I got him to allow me to take your friend Nairne, with a subaltern and thirty men, and then proceeded to the Lower Town, where I found things, though not in a good way, yet not desperate. The enemy had got in at the Sault-au-Matelot; but, neglecting to push on, as they should have done, were stopped at the second barrier which our people got shut just as I arrived. It was so placed as to shut up the street of the Sault-au-Matelot from any communication with the rest of the Lower Town. As I was coming up, I found our people, the Canadians especially, shy of advancing towards the barrier; and was obliged to exert myself a good deal. To do old Voyer, their Colonel, justice, though he is no great officer, yet he did not show any want of spirit. However, my coming up with Nairne and a Lieutenant, with fifty seamen, gave our people new spirits I posted people in the different houses that com-

\* Grant's house stood about the center of St. Roch.

manded the street of Sault-au-Matelot; some in the house where Levy, the Jew, formerly lived, others at Lymeburner's; the officers of the Fusiliers I posted in the street with fixed bayonets, ready to receive the enemy in case they got on our side of the barrier; they had on their side of it, fixed some ladders, and then another to our side, as it was to come down by. That was useful to us. I ordered it to be pulled away, and fixed it to the window in the gable end of a house towards us; the front of which commanded the street of the Sault-au-Matelot, and their side of the barrier. Then I sent Captain Nairne, and Dambourges—an officer also of McLean's Corps\*—with a party of their people; Nairne and Dambourges entered the window with a great deal of spirit, and got into the house on that side, just as the enemy was entering it by the front door. But Nairne soon dislodged them with his bayonets, driving them into the street; nor did they approach the barrier afterwards. They however kept up a brisk fire from back windows of the houses they had occupied in Sault-au-Matelot street, on our people in Lymeburner's house, on his wharf, and the street adjacent, from one of their houses.

I had a narrow escape; for going at day-break to reconnoitre on the wharf under them, just as they took post there, they asked, "Who is there?" At first, I thought they might have been some of Nairne's people, who I knew were next door to them, and answered "A friend.—Who are you?" They answered, "Captain Morgan's company." I told them to have good heart for they would soon be in the town, and immediately got behind a pile of boards beside me, not above ten or twelve yards from them, and escaped. Their fire, however, a good deal slackened towards nine o'clock, especially after I brought a 9-pounder on Lymeburner's wharf to bear upon them: the first shot of which killed one of their men and wounded another. I then called out to Nairne, in their hearing, so that he should let me know when he heard firing on the other side: our General had sent 500 men to hem the enemy in on that side; they soon after began to give themselves up and surrendered to Nairne, who sent them through the window to us. They then began to crowd in, in such numbers, that we opened the barrier; and they all gave themselves up on that side; while the party that made the sortie were busy in the same manner, on the other side of the post, and which had delayed so long from coming up, in taking and sending in by Palace Gate some straggling prisoners; but they had not a shot fired at them, and just arrived on that end of the post the enemy surprised, at the

time the officer I sent to take possession by Nairne with 100 men; thus ended our attack on that side, in which the enemy had about 20 men killed, upwards of 40 men wounded, and about 400 made prisoners.

Had they acted with more spirit, they might have pushed in at first and possessed themselves of the whole Lower Town, and let their friends in at the other side, before our people had time to have recovered from a certain degree of panic which seized them on the first news of the post being surprised.

In the mean time, Mr. Montgomery made his attack at Près-de-Ville; rockets were thrown up as a signal to Arnold that both attacks might be made at same time. He got past some pickets, where we at first established our advance post; the guard was alarmed in time and prepared for his reception, but the post was much stronger than, I believe, he imagined; and defended by four cannons there and a 4-pounder. They were served by some seamen under the orders of the master of the transport; his name was Barnsfare. The guard was under the command of a\* Canadian officer of Militia; the men, Canadians and British, mixed. Barnsfare declared he would not fire till he was sure of doing execution, and with the utmost coolness, waited till the enemy came within his view, at about 30 yards distance, where they received a general discharge from the cannon and musketry. Nothing but groans were heard, and the rebels immediately retired: their General, his Secretary, two or three other officers, and about five privates killed on the spot; their wounded got off.

We had a block house on Cape Diamond, over Drummond's wharf, where the enemy formed. Had the officer of the Canadian Militia, who commanded there, done his duty, great havoc might have been made among the enemy, who was quite exposed directly under them, and not a shot fired at them.

Soon after the enemy was repulsed at that side, some old women brought an account that the rebels had surprised the post at Sault-au-Matelot, and had got into the Lower Town; part of the garrison that had lately behaved so well, were struck with a panic and began, some to hide their arms, some to throw them in the river; the \_\_\_\_\_ officer began to feel a little frightened, when a Mr. Coffin, a British gentleman, who with his wife and twelve children had taken refuge there, expecting to find there peace and quietness, and who had served previously in our militia, drew his bayonet, and declared he

\* Error: two Canadian Militia officers were in command of this post: "alors le Sieur Chabot et le Sieur Alexandre Picard, qui commandaient ce jour là la garde, donnèrent ordre de 'mettre le feu aux canons chargés à mitraille'"—*Sanguinet's Journal*.

\* It was there that an athletic Canadian, named Charlant, distinguished himself, together with Captains Dumas and Dambourges.

would put the first man to death who laid down his arms or attempt to abandon his post, by which means he re-established order; and with the assistance of Captain Barnsfare, who commanded the seamen, got two of the guns pointed on the opposite sides, in case Arnold's people, having got into the Lower Town, should attempt to force the post on that side: they, however, at that time were surrendering themselves prisoners; and immediately, having secured the post that had been surprised, I ordered all the rest of the men to the parade, to wait the General's orders, in hopes that we should have marched out directly, and completed our victory. But all that was done, was going out as far as Mr. Grant's, in St. Roch, and bringing in 7 Royals, that were placed behind his house; one small brass field-piece was also taken; and a few of the houses in which the enemy had before posted themselves, and from whence they had much annoyed us, were burned. The General did not choose to risk anything further; his ideas seemed entirely to centre in the preservation of the town, certain of succours arriving in the Spring; nor did he seem to carry his views towards the operation of the Summer Campaign, which might have been much forwarded by the entire rout of the enemy, as, in that case, St. John's might have been recovered, some of their craft and the entrance into Lake Chamby secured.

Indeed, by the intelligence we received afterwards, their little army was thrown by our success into the greatest confusion. Above three or four hundred remained in a body together; and parties from them were continually on the march after large parties that were deserting with the intention of going homewards. We were, however, kept blocked up in the town; received little or no intelligence of what the enemy were about, except now and then by a deserter; indeed, such was the extent they obliged to guard, that, had I been in their situation, the expectation of having my quarters beat up would have prevented me from sleeping very sound.

From the 31st, things wore another face in town; the Yankees were no longer held in a respectable light; our success at least was equal to a reinforcement of 500 men; the garrison was in high spirits and wished for nothing more than a second attack. Never were people more alive or watchful: for my part, I never thought the enemy could be brought to a second attack; though, for example sake, I hardly ever lay at my own house at night; on duty for a great part of the winter every second day, never less than the third day, and nobody in the garrison ever took off his clothes, and the men of the militia who were not for guard the next day, always as-

sembled at pickets in the evening, in order to turn out if necessary, at a moment's warning. Thus we remained the remainder of the winter, always on the *qui vive*.

The army of the rebels retreating, for as they all had engaged only to certain periods, so, when their time was up, many insisted on going home, and those were replaced by others; nor do I think that troops of that kind can be ever formidable, for as they only engage for a year or a year-and-a-half, as soon as they know anything, they are discharged, and as their officers are very little their superiors in point of birth, they cannot enforce the respect which is necessary to keep up proper discipline; and, indeed, I believe also that the Quebec expedition will make them heartily sick of engaging in war out of their Provinces, as I do not think, by all accounts, they could have lost by sickness less than 500 men in the course of the winter: the small-pox also raged violently amongst them; and of those we had taken prisoners, not less than two hundred were cured of that disorder.

A great part of their army was also composed of Europeans; on these they had the greatest reliance, and with some reason, the same spirit that caused them to emigrate would naturally operate in every other circumstance of life. Of the prisoners we took, about 100 of them were Europeans, chiefly from Ireland; the greatest part of them engaged voluntarily in Col. McLean's corps, but about a dozen of them deserting in the course of a month, the rest were again confined, and not released till the arrival of the *Isis*, when they were again taken into the corps.

You can have no conception what kind of men composed their officers. Of those we took, one Major was a blacksmith, another, a hatter; of their Captains, there was a butcher, a ——, a tanner, a shoemaker, a tavernkeeper, &c., &c. Yet they all pretended to be gentlemen. They, as well as their privates, were treated well, had full allowance of provisions, and allowed as much liberty as the nature of our situation would admit; some of them abused that liberty and suffered for it. Some officers, tampering with the sentries, were discovered and put in irons; and their privates had actually laid a plot, named their officers, and proposed seizing one of the gates and endeavour to open it for their friends, who they found means of informing of the design, by one of them making his escape. The plot was discovered, and the delinquents put in irons; they were, however, all released on the arrival of the *Isis*.

Nothing very violent was attempted after the 31st. Their numbers, for two months after that period, did not, by all accounts, exceed 1400 men. Finding, however, that we attempted nothing against them, they were enabled effectually to

block up the town, so as to prevent any fresh provisions coming into it, and but little intelligence of what was passing. Of the former we were not very much in want; the hospital was sufficiently provided. Most families had taken care to provide themselves; those that did not, could buy from the butchers at 1s. per lb. The militia that would receive pay had 1s. per day, and provisions for themselves and family; they lived by that means at least as well as they had ever done before. It is true, they were dear troops; but the situation of affairs made that necessary. The rebels, as I mentioned before, continued to hem us in, on every side. They raised a battery of four guns at Pointe Levy; another of three guns near the ferry on the River St. Charles; and they were busy erecting another of six guns on the heights of the town between Port\* Louis and St. Jean, which was to have opened on the 8th of May. From the two former they cannonaded the town as briskly as they could (with red-hot shot) considering the fire opposed them; and sometimes, from Pointe Levy, they fired at our shipping in the Cul-de-Sac, but to very little purpose. The women and children were at first a little afraid; but in a short time walked about the town as usual. By their whole fire we lost but one man and one child killed, and three men and one child wounded. In the mean time we had strengthened ourselves in the Lower Town, which was most accessible. We made ourselves very strong from Levy, the Jew's, house to Lymburner's wharf, as well as in every other accessible place. We kept the ditches clean of snow—every man without distinction, taking a shovel on that occasion; we got at length about 140 pieces of cannon mounted in different parts about the town; we had not originally above 30 carriages made from the King's ships, and the carriages made during the winter, the rest were completed.

Things were at this situation on the 1st of May, plenty of provisions in the garrison, and every body in good spirits, expecting soon to be relieved, when on the 2nd, in the evening about 9 o'clock, a vessel † was seen coming around Pointe Levy: Everybody was in high spirits, expecting it to be the forerunner of the fleet. She came up, to the great joy of every one in town, within hail of our battery; when not answering, she was fired upon, and then soon proved what she was, for she sheered into the Cul-de-Sac (where all our shipping were laid—a 28-gun frigate, a King's sloop, and 30 merchant-men and transports)—and was immediately set on fire. Had she got one hundred

yards further, she would have effected her purpose; but the people were frightened and quitted her too soon. When the sails took fire, which they did immediately, she lost way; an eddy tide took hold of her, and she dropped down clear of the shipping, which had they taken fire must have communicated to the Lower Town, and in the confusion consequent thereon, it is imagined the enemy intended to attack us. They knew, at this time, of the *Isis* being in the river; and being now near 3000 strong, they attempted this as their last effort: we were, however, prepared to receive them well everywhere, every man retiring to his alarm post.

On the 6th of May, early in the morning, a frigate hove in sight; and in about an hour after, the *Isis* and a sloop-of-war appeared to the great joy of the whole garrison. Lord Petersham, with the Grenadiers and a small party of the 29th, were on board the *Isis*. They, with the Marines, were immediately landed, to the amount of about 200 men. A sortie was immediately ordered, not with the intention of attacking, but merely to see what the enemy was about. Our sortie consisted of from 1000 to 1200 men. When we got on the heights, a few straggling shots were fired at us from a great distance, by part of their rear-guard, left, I suppose, to cover their retreat and prevent our getting intelligence of their motions. We also saw some small parties filing off by Holland's house, and some people at Mabane's house,\* which they had made an hospital of; and I had got the wood near the back gate of *Sans Bruit* reconnoitred, and intended getting near the ruins of the house, in order to try and \* \* \* \* some of those people and get a nearer view of the enemy, but did not succeed. My scheme would have been, to have pushed the rebels off the heights as far as Cape Rouge, at least, as far as *La Suede*, which, if you remember, is the cross-road which leads from old Lorette to St. Foy. By taking post there, we must have cut off all the out-parties that had been on the lower road of the General Hospital and Beauport, which they had no time to call in, and which must have past that way. I mentioned it to Major Carleton, who arrived in the *Isis*; he spoke of it to his brother, the General, but he still (perhaps with propriety) adhered steadily to his resolution of running no risk as to the safety of the place.

No body was more ready than he was, at all times, to expose his person; his timidity was only shewn in respect to others, and the safety of the town. Other people in his situation, perhaps, might have extended their views to the

\* An old word from the Latin *Portare*, from the circumstance that when Romulus caused a plough-furrow to be drawn, to show the position of the walls of future Rome, the plough was carried over the places meant for gates.

† The *Gaspé*, which belonged to Simon Fraser, had wintered at the Island of Orleans and been taken possession of by the Yankees.

\* Judge Mabane had purchased this property from the reverend gentlemen of the Seminary, shortly after the conquest. It had previously belonged to Bishop Dosquet, and changed its name of "Samos" to that of "Woodfield."

recovery of the country, and to the operations of the Summer Campaign. I confess, those ideas struck me in the course of the winter. No body knows better than you do, how far the minds of mankind are depressed on receiving a check, and that, in all military operations, there are particular circumstances which authorize a commander to undertake, with propriety, what with reason may be deemed rashness at another time; that there are particular moments which, if lost, may never be regained, when it is of the greatest consequence to see with quietness and judgment, and execute with rapidity. By all accounts, which we afterwards received, had we followed up our blow of the 31st December, the enemy might have been driven out of the Province. Not more than 400 of them together; and they were obliged to send large parties every two or three days afterwards to bring back their fugitives; and, indeed, during a great part of the winter, we were blocked up by the rebels, not superior to us either in numbers or the goodness of their troops; and they were, of necessity, obliged to post themselves round us in such a straggling manner, to cut off our communication with the country (which they absolutely effected), that had we taken advantage of it, their headquarters might have been beaten up, and they punished for their temerity. Had they been the best troops in the world, and the best officered, we could not have treated them with greater respect. However, a great many circumstances combined to do as we have done; and which were more, I believe, than was expected from us. Nor is it possible to conceive that people unused to arms, could do more than our Militia, the British in particular.

I forgot to mention a circumstance in favor of the Canadians, (I would willingly say as much in their favour, consistent with truth, as I could). A *habitant* [peasant] from Beaumont (the only one that crossed to town during winter from that side) came to Quebec in a canoe, with some fresh provisions; and mentioned that many of the inhabitants of the South side were inclined to serve the Government, if they knew how. The General by this man wrote to Mons. de Beaujeu, who lived in obscurity on the *Isle aux Grues*, to try and endeavour to assemble the Canadians, and cut off the guard they then had at Pointe Levy. He engaged about 150 Canadians in that design; but they were betrayed by others of the disaffected Canadians. Some of them, assembled in a house together, were surrounded, and about thirty taken prisoners. Messire Baily, a priest, was shot through the body, and also taken; he, however, has since been released, and recovered of his wounds. The priests, in general, behaved well, and refused to confess the Canadians in the rebel interest, for which they suffered persecu-

tion, Messire de Lotbiniere, alone excepted. He they proposed to make Bishop. Mons. De— was almost the only person of the *noblesse* that did not every thing he could for the public service.

I mentioned to you before of having refused the command of the Militia, without the rank of Colonel in the King's service. \* \* \* \* \*

[The remaining portion of the manuscript is missing.]

## IX.—NOTES ON THE RECENT CIVIL WAR. —CONTINUED.

### 2.—MUSTER ROLLS OF THE CONFEDERATE ARMY FOR 1862, 1863 AND 1864.\*

Among the documents which fell into our hands at the downfall of the Confederacy are the returns, very nearly complete, of the Confederate Armies from their organization in the Summer of 1861 down to the Spring of 1865. These returns have been carefully analyzed, and I am enabled to furnish the result in every department, and for almost every month, from these official sources. In respect to the great "Army of "Northern Virginia," commanded from almost the first down to the last by General Lee, the reports are wanting for three very important periods; June, 1862, when the operations of the "Seven days" were commenced which resulted in forcing McClellan from the Chickahominy to the James; August, 1863, when the movement was commenced which resulted in the defeat of Pope at the "Second Battle of Bull Run," or, more properly, of Groveton, followed by the invasion of Maryland and the battle of Antietam; and June, 1863, when was commenced the campaign for the invasion of Pennsylvania, marked by the battle of Gettysburg. But I am able from other sources to give almost exactly the Confederate forces at these great epochs. In the tables which follow, these figures will be given, inclosed in brackets, to distinguish them from the remaining numbers, which are summaries of the official reports. The third column of figures, throughout, shows the number of men borne on the rolls; the second, those returned as "Present;" the first, those reported at the respective dates as "Present for Duty." The effective force of the armies at any given period is measured very nearly by the numbers reported as "Present for Duty;" although in case of sudden movements the number may possibly have been somewhat increased from the merely "present," and slightly by getting back to the ranks some of the "absent."

The Confederate forces may properly be considered as forming Two great armies: that of the

East comprising all the troops in Virginia and the States bordering on the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, and that of the West, composed of those operating in the Valley of the Mississippi and the adjacent region. There is a prevalent belief that these armies mutually reënforced each other: that is, that troops were sent from the East to the West, and from the West to the East, very frequently at critical periods of the campaigns. But as a careful analysis of the ensuing tables will show, this took place only in a single instance: in September, 1863, when Longstreet, with his corps, was sent from Virginia to Tennessee, the remnants of this corps returning to Virginia in the Spring or Summer of 1864. In fact, there was a much greater interchange of troops between the Union armies of the East and the West than between those of the Confederacy.

### 1.—The Confederate Armies of the East.

Although, as will be seen, there were very considerable forces in the Carolinas and in Georgia, the bulk of the Confederate force in the East was throughout comprised in that of the "Army of Northern Virginia." This was fairly organized in the Spring of 1862, when McClellan had made his movement to the Peninsula. Previous to that time the Confederate forces in Virginia had been divided into a number of "districts." There was, for example, the "Army of the Peninsula," under Magruder; the "Department of Norfolk," under Huger; the "Aquia District," under Holmes, and several others at different times. These were finally concentrated in the Spring of 1862 at Yorktown and Richmond, under the command of J. E. Johnston. I have the full returns of these separate bodies, but I do not think it necessary to give them, as the condition and strength of the army concentrated under Johnston was furnished to me by the Commander himself. I may add, however, that the statement of General Johnston coincides wholly with the returns which came into my hands more than a year later. In answer to a letter of inquiry, General Johnston, under date of the third of January, 1866, wrote to me:

"In September, 1861, the effective strength of the army under my command in Northern Virginia was about 37,000. It occupied Leesburg, Centreville, Manassas, and the Lower Occoquan. On the thirty-first of December it had increased to 54,000, including Jackson's command. This army was much reduced during the Winter; but received some recruits in the early Spring. When, in April, 1862, it moved to Williamsburg, its strength (effective) was about 50,000, of which 6,000 were left with Jackson in the Valley, and 6,000 with Ewell on the Rappahannock. The remaining 38,000 were sent to

the position near Yorktown. Magruder's own force was about 15,000, making our army at Yorktown, about the middle of April, near 53,000, exclusive of cavalry. Sickness and the fight at Williamsburg reduced this number by 6,000; our loss at Williamsburg was about 1,800. The strength of this army, when it reached the neighborhood of Richmond, was about 47,000. To these were added Anderson's and Branch's troops, about 13,000, and Three brigades of Huger's, not quite 7,000. This would make the effective of the army amount to about 67,000 at the time of the battles of Fair Oaks and Seven Pines (May 31)."

Johnston was severely wounded at Fair Oaks, and the command devolved upon G. W. Smith; but he had held it only for a day or two when he was attacked by a paralytic stroke, and R. E. Lee was placed in command of this army, which he retained as long as it existed. On the twenty-sixth of June he began his movement against McClellan. We have, in the official Confederate report of the Seven days, full means of arriving at the force then under his command. Including Jackson's command, which then joined him, and ever after constituted a part of his army, it numbered a little more than One hundred thousand effective men, a number which it never exceeded, and nearly equaled only upon Two subsequent occasions. Lee's first report of his force is of the date of the twentieth of July, more than a fortnight after the battle of Malvern Hill.

DEPARTMENT OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, FEB. 28, 1862—FEB. 28, 1865.

Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1862.				
Feb.	J. E. Johnston	47,617	56,396	84,225
May	"	[67,000]	...	...
June	R. E. Lee	[100,000]	...	...
July	"	69,559	94,886	137,080
Aug.	"	[95,000]	...	...
Sept.	"	52,609	62,718	139,148
Oct.	"	67,805	79,895	153,778
Nov.	"	73,554	86,583	158,790
Dec.	"	79,072	91,094	152,858
1863.				
Jan.	"	72,226	98,297	144,605
Feb.	"	58,559	74,435	114,175
March	"	60,298	73,575	109,849
May	"	68,852	88,756	138,659
June	"	[100,000]	...	...
July	"	41,135	58,611	117,602
Aug.	"	56,827	71,964	133,264
Sept.	"	44,867	55,221	95,164
Oct.	"	45,614	57,251	97,211
Nov.	"	48,267	56,088	96,576
Dec.	"	48,558	54,715	91,258
1864.				
Jan.	"	35,849	45,138	79,602
Feb.	"	38,811	39,562	68,495
March	"	39,407	46,151	79,202
April	"	52,626	61,218	97,576
June	"	51,868	62,571	92,685
July	"	57,097	68,844	135,805
Aug.	"	44,247	58,984	146,888
Oct.	"	62,875	82,585	177,108
Nov.	"	69,290	87,860	181,826
Dec.	"	66,588	79,818	155,772
1865.				
Jan.	"	58,445	69,673	141,627
Feb.	"	59,094	73,349	160,411

The great difference between the returns of

the Army of Northern Virginia for June and July, 1862, shows the loss sustained during the Seven days; that between August and September, the losses sustained in the campaign beginning with Groveton and ending with Antietam; but of the Forty thousand quite half were stragglers, who never rejoined their ranks.

The difference (Fifty-nine thousand) between the returns for June and July, 1863, shows the losses of all sorts for the campaign of Gettysburg, lasting but Six weeks. There were many deserters; but the absolute loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, was fully Forty thousand, almost half the army. The diminution in September was owing to the transfer of Longstreet's Corps to the West; the increase in the Autumn of 1864, to the calling to Virginia of every man that could be spared from North and South Carolina. The highest nominal number in this army was in November, 1864, when it showed a force of One hundred and eighty thousand; but of these more than half were absent, and little more than a third present for duty. These proportions had indeed existed for Six months, and continued to the close of the war. It is doubtful whether the army, when in April it finally retreated from Richmond, numbered, all told, Thirty-five thousand men; but the returns cease on the twenty-eighth of February, when there were still Fifty-nine thousand present for duty. The quarters from which came the troops composing this army are shown by the returns for the campaign of Antietam, where the losses in each regiment are given. Probably nearly every regiment was at one time or another brought into action. I found One hundred and seventy-seven regiments of infantry mentioned; of these there were from Virginia Thirty-nine, Georgia Thirty-seven, North Carolina Twenty-six, South Carolina Seventeen, Alabama Sixteen, Mississippi Twelve, Louisiana Nine, Texas Three, Tennessee Three, Florida Two, Arkansas One. At Chancellorsville, out of One hundred and twenty eight regiments Thirty-two were from Georgia, Twenty-six from Virginia, Twenty-five from North Carolina, Ten from Louisiana, Twelve from Alabama, Nine from South Carolina, Eight from Mississippi, Three from Texas, Three from Florida; but at this time there were Three divisions, containing, probably, Ten Virginia regiments in North Carolina with Longstreet.

#### DEPARTMENT OF SOUTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA AND FLORIDA.

During 1861 the forces in this department varied from One thousand five hundred up to Five thousand. In the Spring of 1862 they were largely increased, as follows:

Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	& Absent.	Present.
1862. March	J. C. Pemberton	29,172	34,448	40,955	
April	"	26,471	32,796	38,472	
May	"	18,184	22,524	25,984	

Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	& Absent.
1862. June	J. C. Pemberton	23,433	29,842	85,717
July	"	18,732	24,547	81,035
Aug.	"	16,281	21,618	28,914
Sept.	G. T. Beauregard	15,486	20,962	27,141
Dec.	"	21,353	25,819	82,212
1863. Jan.	"	18,883	21,625	27,052
Feb.	"	25,848	29,449	87,185
March	"	31,630	36,150	43,010
April	"	32,988	37,520	44,770
May	"	20,045	22,902	27,946
June	"	19,400	22,006	27,666
July	"	21,226	25,281	84,285
Aug.	"	21,471	29,919	42,192
Sept.	"	28,898	35,070	51,226
Oct.	"	29,866	35,235	50,277
Nov.	"	28,586	33,373	46,845
Dec.	"	29,582	34,064	47,421
1864. Jan.	"	33,287	38,222	51,583
March	"	28,672	32,652	42,802
April	Sam. Jones	25,498	29,084	88,752
May	"	11,719	13,282	17,510
June	"	12,421	14,278	18,883
July	"	11,190	13,979	19,562
Aug.	"	11,651	13,881	20,294
Sept.	"	11,586	18,861	20,967
Oct.	W. T. Hardee	12,446	15,085	23,605
Nov.	"	12,466	14,680	21,678
1865. Jan.	"	22,659	30,069	49,807

#### DEPARTMENT OF SOUTH VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA.

1862. Jan.	C. E. Gatlin	9,016	10,748	11,755
March	T. H. Holmes	19,924	24,085	28,629
April	"	16,042	19,868	22,507
June	"	17,217	21,261	26,856
Sept.	S. W. French	8,560	10,582	11,180
Nov.	"	6,069	7,559	9,070
Dec.	G. W. Smith	11,074	12,007	18,895
1863. Jan.	S. G. French	28,515	48,114	40,821
Feb.	"	14,984	19,888	26,584
March	J. H. Longstreet	45,108	52,708	73,116
May	D. H. Hill	22,149	26,888	34,469
June	"	18,607	22,822	30,757
July	W. H. C. Whiting	8,566	9,900	11,997
Aug.	"	7,891	8,867	11,889
Sept.	{ W. H. C. Whiting S. G. French	14,758	17,591	28,015
Oct.	G. E. Pickett	10,603	12,726	15,570
Nov.	{ W. H. C. Whiting G. E. Pickett	15,022	17,021	22,645
1864. Feb.	W. H. C. Whiting	19,893	22,952	30,817
June	G. T. Beauregard	12,592	17,130	22,785
Aug.	"	22,005	26,678	44,273
1865. Jan.	Braxton Bragg	11,548	18,164	23,507
Feb.	"	11,200	12,769	28,645
March	S. G. Marston	1,525	1,741	2,908

The great decrease in this department in March, 1863, was owing to the transfer of Longstreet's Corps from the army in Virginia. These returned to Lee in the Spring, but not in time to take part in the actions at Chancellorsville. Upon this corps, however, fell the heaviest blows at Gettysburg. During July and August North Carolina was almost stripped of troops; every man that could be spared was sent to Richmond, or to the army on the Rapidan. The reports for the Summer and Autumn of 1864 appear to be only partial. They indicate that there were only Two or Three thousand men left in North Carolina. All the rest had joined the forces at Petersburg and Richmond.

#### DEPARTMENT OF RICHMOND.

This department appears to have been organ-

ized in the Summer of 1862, at the time when Lee's army was away from the capital, engaged in the campaign against Pope.

Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Absent.	Present
1862. Sept.	G. W. Smith	23,602	19,072	35,598	
Oct.	"	23,184	29,028	86,697	
Nov.	"	26,677	31,996	42,099	
Dec.	A. Elzy	6,225	7,516	12,033	
1863. Jan.		5,113	6,095	7,820	
Feb.	"	5,255	6,164	7,672	
March	"	5,739	6,099	7,485	
April	"	3,065	3,602	4,529	
May	"	5,533	9,287	11,762	
June	"	7,396	8,535	10,187	
July	"	14,406	16,419	20,790	
Aug.	"	12,501	14,554	19,188	
Sept.	"	4,928	6,200	10,283	
Oct.	"	5,354	6,753	10,317	
Nov.	"	5,122	6,223	8,585	
Dec.	"	6,206	7,558	11,601	
1864. Jan.	"	5,152	5,981	8,494	
Feb.	"	6,558	7,841	11,688	
March	"	7,500	9,025	13,023	
April	E. Ramseur	7,359	8,899	12,682	
May	"	5,746	6,956	9,989	
June	R. S. Ewell	6,176	7,127	9,186	
July	"	4,395	5,523	7,668	
Aug.	"	4,392	6,003	9,451	
Sept.	"	4,731	5,985	9,356	
Oct.	"	3,349	4,073	8,742	
Nov.	"	6,344	7,879	17,045	
Dec.	"	5,052	6,658	16,660	
1865. Jan.	"	5,586	6,442	16,229	
Feb.	"	4,692	5,431	9,675	
March	"	4,529	5,175	9,455	

This department, after December, 1863, appears to have consisted of the local militia, composed mainly of Government employees, and exempts from the regular service. The returns are of special interest, as showing with what ease Richmond might have been taken by a sudden attack made up the James, or even across the Peninsula. Thus, in June, 1863, when Lee began his march to Pennsylvania, a demonstration was actually made by a force of some Fifteen thousand from Yorktown; it reached the Chickahominy, but finding the bridges guarded, it returned without making any attempt at going further. At this time, there were but Six thousand men there present for duty, and but Nine thousand, counting all, present and absent. Again, in February, 1864, when Kilpatrick made the raid in which Dahlgren was killed, having actually penetrated the lines of fortification, there were but Seven thousand five hundred of these militia in Richmond, besides about Two thousand under Winder, forming what was called "the Department of Henrico," who formed the guard for the prisoners. Had Kilpatrick kept his cavalry force together, he might have rode into the city and liberated the prisoners. Or had this cavalry raid been supported by a few thousand infantry, Richmond might have been taken and held. When the prisoners were removed to Andersonville, and elsewhere South, the Department of Henrico seems to have been given up, for I find no returns from it, except for the months of March, April and May, 1864.

In Western Virginia there was during 1863 a small body of troops, numbering at different periods from Seven thousand to Nine thousand, under General Sam Jones. These, in March, 1864; were placed under J. C. Breckinridge, but he was defeated and driven out of the region in April.

In the Gulf States there were few troops until near the close of the war. They were mainly in the "Department of the Gulf." The number was usually about Six thousand; the highest being in January, 1864, when there were Ten thousand, under Maury. The returns are full for 1863 and 1864, but it is not necessary to quote them in full. They were mainly in and around Mobile. At the close, there were here probably about Twenty thousand, made up from the remnants of other departments.

## 2.—Armies in the West.

In the various Confederate armies of the West, the departments and commanders were frequently changed in accordance with the shifting scenes of the war. The numbers at any one time can be ascertained by a careful examination of the dates of the returns which follow:

### FIRST DIVISION, WESTERN DEPARTMENT.

Date.	Commander.	For Duty.	Present.	Present for Duty.
1861. Oct.	L. Polk	18,806	23,818	26,455
Nov.	"	20,049	23,098	24,488
Dec.	"	21,081	25,798	28,630
1862. Jan.	"	17,606		
Feb.	"	15,465	22,061	24,784

### CENTRAL ARMY OF KENTUCKY.

861. Nov.	W. H. Hardee	1,178	15,977	19,815
Dec.	"	12,848	16,253	22,009
1862. Jan.	"	22,660	30,789	39,558
Feb.	"	11,650	...	17,651

### ARMY OF TENNESSEE.

1862. Nov.	Braxton Bragg	30,649	36,686	61,229
Dec.	"	51,080	59,075	88,484
1863. Jan.	"	36,981	49,831	88,780
Feb.	"	42,088	55,188	87,788
March	"	49,915	65,594	96,301
April	"	52,069	67,849	98,217
May	"	50,883	64,722	98,217
June	"	45,974	59,545	88,597
July	"	39,513	52,690	81,293
Aug.	"	45,041	59,027	88,273
Sept.	"	41,970	53,857	
Oct.	"	46,496	65,608	102,990
Nov.	W. H. Hardee	48,094	58,755	118,255
Dec.	J. E. Johnston	42,439	57,423	98,215
1864. Jan.	"	41,583	55,059	88,459
Feb.	"	37,787	48,010	79,071
March	"	42,125	55,118	85,958
April	"	48,887	63,807	96,863
June	"	54,058	77,441	137,192
July	J. B. Hood	44,495	65,601	136,684
Aug.	"	47,826	71,827	136,548
Sept.	"	40,409	60,948	123,090
Oct.	"	30,600	45,719	96,867
Dec.	"	23,053	24,439	86,995

### ARMY OF EAST TENNESSEE.

Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1862. April	E. K. Smith	10,866	12,715	16,209
May	"	11,066	14,469	20,402
June	"	13,458	16,294	24,886
Nov.	"	26,219	31,412	48,832
Dec.	"	7,811	9,258	18,419

Date,	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.	Present & Absent.		
					Dept. of Mississippi	For Duty.	Present.
1863. March	D. H. Donelson	11,557	15,828	28,598	-	49,000	68,000
April	D. H. Maury	14,158	17,678	25,554	-	7,000	9,000
July	S. B. Buckner	15,935	17,828	26,411	-	-	-
Oct.	Sam. Jones	7,975	9,471	17,057	-	-	-
Nov.	"	10,546	12,592	18,580	-	-	-
Dec.	J. Longstreet	15,362	21,286	44,178	-	-	-
1864. Jan.	"	19,667	25,514	52,851	-	-	-
Feb.	"	19,010	25,204	45,085	-	-	-
March	"	18,857	23,917	44,042	-	-	-
July	S. B. Buckner	14,907	17,343	25,618	-	-	-
Aug.	J. H. Morgan	2,930	3,874	5,205	-	-	-
Sept.	J. Echols	3,904	4,345	6,842	-	-	-
Oct.	J. C. Breckinridge	8,001	8,782	7,188	-	-	-
1865. Feb.	J. Echols	8,108	4,003	10,052	-	-	-
DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI.							
Date,	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.	Dept. of Tennessee	For Duty.	Present.
1862. March	A. S. Johnston	35,147	44,524	55,977	-	42,000	58,000
April	G. T. Beauregard	45,712	66,908	93,522	-	15,000	16,000
May	Braxton Bragg	49,873	72,230	108,054	-	27,000	31,000
July	"	49,306	68,126	98,201	-	24,000	28,000
Aug.	"	27,320	31,184	47,215	-	7,000	9,000
Oct.	L. Polk	27,360	32,425	51,446	-	-	-
Dec.	J. C. Pemberton	89,545	48,228	70,241	-	-	-
1863. Jan.	"	40,902	51,830	73,114	-	-	-
Feb.	"	46,012	58,464	77,997	-	-	-
March	"	48,845	29,411	82,284	-	-	-
May	J. E. Johnston	28,154	36,289	54,190	-	-	-
July	"	28,379	30,411	53,976	-	-	-
Nov.	"	18,942	24,559	44,497	-	-	-
1864. Jan.	L. Polk	19,350	25,041	44,225	-	-	-
Feb.	"	15,650	20,270	84,205	-	-	-
March	"	15,224	19,765	83,994	-	-	-
April	"	15,314	19,750	84,491	-	-	-
May	L. D. Lee	15,118	18,307	80,932	-	-	-
June	"	13,103	16,686	29,824	-	-	-
July	D. H. Maury	8,622	11,984	22,407	-	-	-
Aug.	"	10,268	13,656	26,536	-	-	-
Sept.	Dick Taylor	16,578	21,999	39,271	-	-	-
Oct.	"	15,024	21,106	37,649	-	-	-
Nov.	"	10,459	15,592	32,148	-	-	-
TRANS-MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT.							
Date,	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.	Dept. of Tennessee	For Duty.	Present.
1862. Sept.	Dick Taylor	3,351	4,702	5,845	-	41,000	54,000
Nov.	T. H. Holmes	23,834	27,632	35,551	-	21,000	25,000
1863. Jan.	Dick Taylor	3,586	4,775	7,238	-	9,000	10,000
Feb.	J. B. Magruder	5,679	7,038	9,322	-	14,000	16,000
March,	"	13,354	16,152	26,091	-	-	-
April,	"	20,698	25,324	41,318	-	-	-
May,	E. K. Smith	19,186	22,274	48,534	-	-	-
Sept.	"	26,047	30,480	46,121	-	-	-
Oct.	J. B. Magruder	83,459	42,405	66,473	-	-	-
Nov.	"	17,169	20,870	36,250	-	-	-
Dec.	E. K. Smith	84,845	40,957	73,289	-	-	-
1864. Sept.	"	88,046	52,867	76,884	-	-	-
JULY 20, 1862.							
		For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.	Dept. of Mississippi	For Duty.	Present.
Dept. of Northern Virginia	-	70,000	95,000	189,000	-	49,000	68,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	19,000	25,000	31,000	-	-	16,000	21,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	17,000	21,000	27,000	-	-	-	-
Total Army of the East	106,000	141,000	197,000	-	-	-	-
Dept. of Tennessee	-	40,000	58,000	81,000	-	-	-
Dept. of East Tennessee	-	15,000	18,000	26,000	-	-	-
Total Army of the East	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
JULY 20, 1862.							
		For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.	Dept. of Mississippi	For Duty.	Present.
Dept. of Northern Virginia	-	70,000	95,000	189,000	-	49,000	68,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	19,000	25,000	31,000	-	-	16,000	21,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	17,000	21,000	27,000	-	-	-	-
Total Army of the East	106,000	141,000	197,000	-	-	-	-
Dept. of Tennessee	-	40,000	58,000	81,000	-	-	-
Dept. of East Tennessee	-	15,000	18,000	26,000	-	-	-
Total Army of the East	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SEPTEMBER, 1862.							
		For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.	Dept. of Northern Virginia	For Duty.	Present.
Dept. of Mississippi	-	-	-	-	-	53,000	62,000
Dept. of the Gulf	-	-	-	-	-	7,000	9,000
Total Army of the West	-	-	-	-	-	111,000	148,000
Total Armies of East and West	-	-	-	-	-	217,000	289,000
SEPTEMBER, 1862.							
		For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.	Dept. of Northern Virginia	For Duty.	Present.
Dept. of Northern Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	53,000	62,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	16,000	21,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	9,000	11,000
Dept. of Richmond	-	-	-	-	-	24,000	29,000
Total Army of the East	-	-	-	-	-	102,000	122,000
Total Armies of East and West	-	-	-	-	-	213,000	289,000
MARCH, 1863.							
		For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.	Dept. of Tennessee	For Duty.	Present.
Dept. of Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	42,000	53,000
Dept. of East Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	15,000	16,000
Dept. of Mississippi	-	-	-	-	-	27,000	31,000
Dept. of Trans-Mississippi	-	-	-	-	-	24,000	28,000
Dept. of the Gulf	-	-	-	-	-	7,000	9,000
Total Army of the West	-	-	-	-	-	117,000	137,000
Total Armies of East and West	-	-	-	-	-	219,000	259,000
MARCH, 1863.							
		For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.	Dept. of Northern Virginia	For Duty.	Present.
Dept. of Northern Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	60,000	73,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	32,000	36,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	45,000	53,000
Dept. of Richmond	-	-	-	-	-	6,000	7,000
Total Army of the East	-	-	-	-	-	143,000	163,000
Total Armies of East and West	-	-	-	-	-	281,000	343,000
JULY, 1863.							
		For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.	Dept. of Northern Virginia	For Duty.	Present.
Dept. of Northern Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	41,000	54,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	21,000	25,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	9,000	10,000
Dept. of Richmond	-	-	-	-	-	14,000	16,000
Total Army of the East	-	-	-	-	-	85,000	105,000
Total Armies of East and West	-	-	-	-	-	184,000	204,000
APRIL, 1864.							
		For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.	Dept. of Tennessee	For Duty.	Present.
Dept. of Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	40,000	53,000
Dept. of East Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	15,000	18,000
Dept. of Mississippi	-	-	-	-	-	28,000	36,000
Dept. of Trans-Mississippi	-	-	-	-	-	25,000	30,000
Dept. of the Gulf	-	-	-	-	-	5,000	6,000
Total Army of the West	-	-	-	-	-	113,000	143,000
Total Armies of East and West	-	-	-	-	-	215,000	254,000
APRIL, 1864.							
		For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.	Dept. of Northern Virginia	For Duty.	Present.
Dept. of Northern Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	52,000	61,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	26,000	29,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	5,000	6,000
Dept. of Richmond	-	-	-	-	-	7,000	9,000
Total Army of the East	-	-	-	-	-	90,000	105,000
Total Armies of East and West	-	-	-	-	-	198,000	248,000
MAY, 1864.							
		For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.	Dept. of Tennessee	For Duty.	Present.
Dept. of Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	44,000	64,000
Dept. of East Tennessee	-	-	-	-	-	15,000	21,000
Dept. of Mississippi	-	-	-	-	-	15,000	20,000
Dept. of Trans-Mississippi	-	-	-	-	-	38,000	53,000
Dept. of the Gulf	-	-	-	-	-	7,000	8,000
Total Army of the West	-	-	-	-	-	119,000	165,000
Total Armies of East and West	-	-	-	-	-	209,000	270,000
AUGUST, 1864.							
		For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.	Dept. of Northern Virginia	For Duty.	Present.
Dept. of Northern Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	44,000	59,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	11,000	14,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	22,000	26,000
Dept. of Richmond	-	-	-	-	-	4,000	6,000
Total Army of the East	-	-	-	-	-	81,000	105,000
Total Armies of East and West	-	-	-	-	-	221,000	280,000

	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
Dept. of Tennessee - - -	44,000	65,000	127,000
Dept. of East Tennessee - - -	18,000	21,000	89,000
Dept. of Mississippi - - -	10,000	14,000	27,000
Dept. of Trans-Mississippi - - -	38,000	58,000	77,000
Dept. of the Gulf - - -	6,000	7,000	9,000
Total Army of the West -	116,000	160,000	329,000
Total Armies of East and West	197,000	265,000	550,000
NOVEMBER, 1864.			
Dept. of Northern Virginia - -	69,000	88,000	182,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	12,000	15,000	21,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	3,000	4,000	5,000
Dept. of Richmond - - -	6,000	7,000	17,000
Total - - - - -	90,000	114,000	225,000
Dept. of Tennessee - - -	30,000	46,000	96,000
Dept. of East Tennessee - - -	3,000	4,000	7,000
Dept. of Mississippi - - -	15,000	21,000	38,000
Dept. of Trans-Mississippi - - -	38,000	52,000	77,000
Total - - - - -	86,000	124,000	218,000
Total - - - - -	176,000	248,000	443,000

The Confederate army undoubtedly reached its highest point, both in numbers and efficiency, in the early Summer of 1863, when the movement into Pennsylvania was commenced. At the close of March, before all preparations had been made, the returns show a nominal force of Four hundred and eighty-four thousand, of whom Three hundred and forty-one thousand were present, and Two hundred and eighty-one thousand present for duty. Probably about Twenty thousand were added during the next Six weeks to the Army of the East; so that we may safely say that at the middle of June there were a little more than Five hundred thousand on the muster rolls, of whom Three hundred thousand were present for duty. The army, especially that under Lee, were in the highest state of efficiency. The recent victories at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville had inspired them with perfect confidence in their own invincibility. The Confederacy was at that time like an athlete in the highest condition of training. Fully one-half of the men of military age were enrolled in the army. If we take into account those exempt by infirmity, those employed in the various civil departments, and those detailed directly to perform labor in the various military work-shops, it is hardly an over-statement to say that every able-bodied man was enrolled; of these Seven out of Ten were actually present, and Six out of Ten were "present for duty." No people could long sustain such a strain. In the first week of July they suffered losses amounting to fully One hundred thousand men. At the end of the month Lee had only Forty-one thousand for duty out of the One hundred thousand with which he had set out Six weeks before; and in a month by every exertion he could get together only Fifteen thousand more, and out of this Fifty-six thousand, all told, he was forced to send Fifteen thousand of his best troops

to the West. If the Autumn campaign of 1863 in Virginia had been prosecuted by the Union commander with anything approaching vigor, there is no reason to doubt that it would have closed the war; for Meade had an army fully double that of Lee. When in the Spring of 1864 Grant opened his campaign, Lee had only a little more than Fifty thousand, and in August, when the siege of Richmond was fairly opened, he had, counting in those present with him, though still nominally belonging to the Department of North Carolina, less than Sixty thousand. From this time the returns show how prevalent became desertions from the Confederate armies at the East and West. In August, out of a nominal force of Five hundred and fifty thousand, there were not Two hundred thousand present for duty in all the armies. At the close of February, the date of the latest report in our possession, Lee, out of a nominal force of One hundred and sixty thousand had present but Seventy-three thousand, and for duty but Fifty-nine thousand. More than half were absent wholly, and little more than a third were present for duty. When he finally abandoned Petersburg and Richmond, it is doubtful whether he had Thirty-five thousand men all told.

We judge that, in all, Six hundred thousand different men were in the Confederate ranks during the war. Of these we do not believe one-half are alive this day. Once in the ranks there was no escape except by death, disablement from wounds or sickness, or desertion. Of the Three hundred thousand of the Confederate soldiers yet alive, no man can say what proportion are wholly or in great part disabled by wounds or disease; but it is safe to say that in three years the South lost by the war alone, fully one-third of its able-bodied white male population. A great part of the accumulated wealth of the people was swept away; not merely changing from one hand to another, and so in the natural course of things certain to be redistributed, but absolutely annihilated. Not merely the created wealth, but the means of creating it has been destroyed. We think that there is not in all history the record of a war attended by such utter disaster. These facts are quite sufficient to account for the great cry of distress which surges up to us from that unfortunate region. The mills of the gods have ground swiftly, but they have yet ground exceedingly fine. With the ghastly array before us of the figures which have been set forth in this paper, we have little sympathy with any man—even though he may have suffered the loss of his best and dearest—who will now lift up hand or voice save to aid and console the suffering people of the South. If they committed—as we believe they did—a grievous wrong, most grievously have they answered for it.

## X.—EXPEDITION OF NARVAEZ TO CONQUER FLORIDA.

[This document, a curious relic of the past, exists in the Archivo General de Indias, at Seville, in the package inscribed "N. ESPAÑA Descubrimientos, descripciones y Poblaciones. Leg. 1: años 1520 á 1527," a copy of which was brought to this country a few years ago by Mr. Buckingham Smith, and now, in a translation, is first published. It appears in the original Spanish, to be the draft in blank for a formal authorization with the signature of Charles V., and is one of the earliest original papers extant relating to the history of this country. No appointment to the office described seems ever to have been made; other offices were filled, as follows: Cabeza de Vaca, Treasurer and High-Sheriff; Alonso Enriquez, Comptroller; Alonso de Solis, Distributor and Assessor, and Juan Suarez, friar of San Francisco, Commissary.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

## INSTRUCTION TO THE FACTOR OF FLORIDA.

THE KING.

What you, , are to do in the office you take with you as our Factor of the Rio de las Palmas and land Pamphilo de Narvaez,—whom we have provided with the government thereof,—goes to settle, is as follows:

First: In the City of Sevilla you will present our provision, which you bear for that station,—to our officials, in the House of Contratacion of the Indias, residing in said City, of whom you will ask an account of the notices that appear to them you should learn and have of the matters of that land, and, beyond this instruction, of the manner in which you should discharge the duties of that office for the perfect security of our Exchequer.

Likewise: In that land you will receive into possession all merchandise and property that at the present time are there, or shall be sent there under our order, from the officials of said City of Sevilla, as well as from the officials of the Islands of Espanola, San Juan, Fernandina and Santiago, for expenditure and distribution in those lands equally the things that appertain to our service as those for sale and exchange, all which you are to do under our Comptroller of that land.

So likewise: All the things of our Exchequer that shall be in your charge you will barter and sell and utilise in the manner most for the growth of the public treasure, and distribute by the orders and drafts signed by our Comptroller, whom we direct to take account and specification of the transactions, as well the time as the place thereof, that in our Exchequer there be proper security.

Also: The things that you have in possession not necessary for our service and that shall be for sale, you must acquaint thereof our Governor of the country, and our officers residing therein, that you all collectively determine what should be sold and at what price, and you shall try to dispose of them to the greatest advantage possible; but, since it might happen, as has been

known, that at the time things are appraised they are worth the price at which they are valued and then cannot be sold, they come incontinently so to depreciate, that if kept to be sold for the price at which they are valued, they would become injured, then in such event you will attempt and strive to dispose of such things at the highest rate that you can, in the opinion of said Governor and officers, and keep you specification and account of the price of each article sold, that when asked you may be able to state, as is reasonable and your duty to do.

Again: You will go, with all the money that may arise from such articles in your charge as you shall sell, to , our Treasurer in that land, so soon as they are sold, without any deduction from the money or price at which they may have been sold while in your possession and control, all which you thus deliver to be entered in the book of our Comptroller, that in it may exist the particulars and amounts of all.

So likewise: You will have great care and diligence in protecting and preserving our Exchequer to the extent it may be in your charge, and improve and benefit it to the extent possible, giving all the good care and solicitude requisite and for which I confide in you.

Likewise: You must take account, and in general particulars, of all the things that are sent or given to you, and of those you sell or deliver, each article by itself apart, that whenever worth while the entire account may be seen and understood. More than this, you will have a care to inform us of the profits there may be on each article and likewise those said officers at Sevilla, and of the Island of Espanola, of San Juan, of Cuba and of Jamaica, that the advantages, if any, on each article may be known, and whether it will be for our interest to send such merchandise or otherwise.

Also: You will be vigilant and make much effort to learn what things are most profitable and necessary to be sent to that land, as much for barter as sale and contract, holding first advisement with our said Governor and officers, and then informing us with particularity of all, as well those said officers at Sevilla and of the mentioned Islands, that they may provide therefor.

And in as much as the offices of our Governor, Treasurer, Comptroller and Factor of that land are separate, each in its sphere having for object whatever may be for the good of our royal revenue and well populating and pacification of that land, every one, consequently, should consider the offices of the rest as his, and on this account you should communicate and converse of all matters touching your office that are for our service and whatever else with said Governor and officers, joining with them that, collectively, you may see and commune respecting what in

every instance should be done, as well for matters there, as to serve and inform us respecting all.

So, likewise: You must have great care that whatever occurs touching your charge and office, wherein it may be necessary to resolve and determine by judicial proceeding, by free decision of a true man, or by agreement of friends, you will converse and communicate upon with our said Governor and our other said officers.

And, for the fulfilment of the foregoing and safety of our Exchequer, I command our said officials at Sevilla to take and receive of you, the said , before they allow you to depart in the exercise of the office, securities ample and approved ; and, since it may be difficult for you to give such in Sevilla, before our said officials, our will and disposition are that you may give them in any part of our kingdoms, before the Board of Magistrates of the Province where you shall so offer them, and whom we command to receive them of you, full and sufficient, in ducats, which we order, with the evidences and obligations of the bonds you shall give, be put and kept in the archive, among the papers of said House, and, thus executed, they permit you to go freely to the exercise of said office, even though you may not have given the securities in said city.

And, that in our Exchequer there may be the requisite security, I command that all the gold, pearls and seed-pearl that shall come into the possession of our Treasurer of that land, as well our fifths as those of excise and dues of every other kind, be put in a chest with three different keys, of which you shall have one, and the two others our Treasurer and Comptroller of said land, that no gold be taken from that chest save by hand of the three, obviating by this arrangement the inconveniences and frauds that otherwise might ensue and recur, and thus may be sent to us at the times we have required, which we order you to observe and comply with, likewise our said Treasurer and Comptroller, under pain of forfeiture of your offices and goods to our tribunals and treasury, in which pains we will condemn you, and hold you condemned, the contrary doing.

Done at , on day of the month of , of the year One thousand five hundred and twenty . I, THE KING.

was held at the Astor House, on Wednesday evening, the twenty-sixth of January, to take into consideration the propriety of tendering to him a suitable welcome on his arrival in New York. The meeting was called to order by William H. Maxwell, who nominated Robert H. Morris as Chairman. Prosper M. Wetmore named D. C. Colden and D. C. Pell as Secretaries. The officers being duly elected, the meeting was addressed by Philip Hone, Charles W. Sandford, J. W. Edmonds, J. R. Livingston, Jr., J. W. Francis, Alexander Hamilton, Jr., Prosper M. Wetmore, and other gentlemen; whereupon, William H. Maxwell, after some appropriate remarks, offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:—

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this meeting "it is proper and becoming in the citizens of New York to unite heartily in those demonstrations "of respect and esteem which have been, and "will be, everywhere in our land, called forth by "the visit of Mr. Dickens to America; not be- "cause of his talents alone, but in consideration "of the noble use he has made of those talents in "vindicating the rights, and claims, and feelings "of humanity at large, without distinction of "rank or circumstance.

*Resolved*, That in welcoming Charles Dickens to America, we feel that we are at once paying "due homage to genius and fulfilling the demands "of gratitude; for as individuals we owe grati- "tude to the minister of intellectual delight, and, "as republicans, we are bound to thank him who "has, in his writings, so eloquently maintained "the cause of the humble and oppressed; who "exhibits in every line his own keen sensibility "to wrong; and the pervading spirit of all whose "works is a touching illustration of the truth "that in the elementary constitution of men "there is no difference, whatever difference cir- "cumstances may have created.

*Resolved*, That in the arrangement of a fitting reception for the visitor whom we delight "to honor, regard be had to the participation "therein of the ladies; for we feel assured that "our countrywomen will look with little favor "on any device which excludes them from joining in a festival given in honor of him whose "imagination and heart gave birth to 'Little "Nell.'

*Resolved*, That all the gentlemen present, and "such others as may be hereafter named, consti- "tute a General Committee."

GENERAL COMMITTEE.—Robert H. Morris, J. B. Nicholson, Philip Hone, Henry Brevoort, Valentine Mott, W. H. Maxwell, David Graham, James W. Webb, Alex. W. Bradford, A. S. Doane, E. A. Duyckinck, Daniel B. Tallmadge, John C. Cheeseman, Henry Inman, A. M. Cozzens, W. B. Dean, J. M. Smith, Jr., Thos. J. Oakley, Chas.

#### XI.—OLD NEW YORK REVIVED.—CONTINUED.

##### 21.—THE "BOZ" BALL.

##### 1.—*The Preliminary Meeting of Citizens.*

It having been announced in the public prints that Mr. Charles Dickens had landed in the United States, a numerous meeting of citizens

Delaforest, Wm. L. Morris, P. M. Wetmore, J. Prescott Hall, James E. Cooley, W. K. Northall, Chas. W. Sandford, M. M. Noah, Alexander Hamilton, Jr., John W. Francis, George P. Morris, Duncan C. Pell, Hugh McLean, Gerard H. Coster, John S. Bartlett, Charles P. Clinch, William Turner, Moses H. Grinnell, W. Starr Miller, John Inman, Wm. Kent, Beverley Robinson, Jr., Robt. J. Dillon, Wm. H. Appleton, S. Draper, Jr., F. W. Edmonds, Saml. I. Hunt, H. G. Stebbins, Augs. Fleming, Francis F. Waddell, Wm. Grandin, Chas. A. Clinton, Joseph Hudson, Charles M. Leupp, J. W. Gerard, F. A. Tallmadge, Wharton Griffith, Edward S. Gould, N. G. Ogden, D. C. Colden, J. W. Edmonds, J. Philips Phoenix, Dudley S. Gregory, John O. Sergeant, Theodore E. Tomlinson, A. G. Stout, George S. Doughty, C. A. Stetson, Charles A. Davis, R. Fayerweather, Martin Hoffman, James Phalen, R. C. Wetmore, P. S. Townsend, Wm. L. Shuttleworth, C. C. Cambreleng, Andrew Warner, Saml. Jones Mumford, Alfred A. Smith, Marshall O. Roberts, James R. Whiting, Joseph Gaillard, Jr., Cornelius R. Savage, John D. Van Buren, Edmund Simpson, Samuel P. Lyman, J. R. Livingston, Jr., J. Beekman Fish, Thos. J. Cummings.

On motion, Messrs. Sandford, Maxwell, G. P. Morris, Wetmore and J. W. Edmonds were appointed a Committee to withdraw and report forthwith a suitable plan for a Ball to be given to Mr. Dickens.

The meeting then resolved, unanimously, that Philip Hone be requested to write a letter of invitation in behalf of this meeting to Mr. Dickens, and that D. C. Colden be appointed to deliver it in person. Mr. Hone immediately prepared the following letter, which was signed by all the gentlemen then present:—

“ NEW YORK, Jan. 26, 1842.

“ SIR,

“ The citizens of New York having received the agreeable intelligence of your arrival in the United States, and appreciating the value of your labors in the cause of humanity, and the eminently successful exercise of your literary talents, are ambitious to be among the foremost in tendering to you and your lady the hearty welcome which they are persuaded is in reserve for you in all parts of our country.

“ With this object in view we have been appointed a Committee, in behalf of a large Meeting of gentlemen convened for the purpose, to request your attendance at a public Ball to be given in this city.

“ Mr. C. D. Colden, one of our number, will have the honor of presenting this invitation, and is charged with the agreeable duty of presenting their congratulations on your arrival. We shall expect, through him, your kind acceptance

“ of this invitation, and your designation of the day when it may suit your convenience to attend.

“ We are, Sir,

“ With great respect,

“ Your Obed't Serv'ts.”

The Committee, of which Charles W. Sandford was Chairman, appeared and made the following Report:—

“ REPORT.

“ With a desire of tendering to Mr. Dickens those hospitalities and courtesies due to a stranger of such eminent genius and private worth, and in order to afford the Ladies, as well as the citizens at large, of New York an opportunity of exchanging salutations with him, we deem it an appropriate compliment to invite him and his Lady to a Ball, to be given expressly for the occasion.

“ To heighten the effect, and in compliance with the desire universally expressed, it is recommended that the Ball Room represent various compartments of ‘Curiosity Shop,’ in which the productions of ‘Boz’ may be illustrated. In order to add a strikingly novel and agreeable feature to the intended fete, it is suggested that a number of Tableaux Vivants be formed by competent Artists in the intervals of the dance, drawn from the Novels, Sketches, Poems and Dramas of Mr. Dickens, and shadowing forth, in living pictures, the graphic and glowing delineations of this singularly gifted and original author.

“ As it is believed that the demand for Cards of admission will be very great, and that no Ball Room in the City will be large enough to contain the numbers desirous of being present on the occasion, it is recommended that the Park Theatre be engaged, and that the Ball take place at the earliest date, of which due notice will be given in the public prints.

“ The Committee also recommend the following sketch of decorations and devices for the Ball Room, and arrangements for the floor:—

“ 1. The inside of the Theatre to represent a magnificent Saloon, hung with Chandeliers.

“ 2. The audience part of the house to be ornamented with festoons of flowers, garlands, draperies, and trophies emblematical of the different States of the Union.

“ 3. The floor to extend from the front of the boxes to the back of the building, where, on an elevated stage, arrangements be made for the representation of numerous Tableaux Vivants from the works of Mr. Dickens, represented by Artists under the direction of the Committee.

“ 4. The stage part of the Theatre to be highly embellished with various designs from the writings of ‘Boz,’ illustrating many of his

"striking, original, novel, graphic, and familiar scenes."

"5. A full and efficient Orchestra, comprising the principal musical talent at present in the City, to be engaged, and so arranged as to add to the general effect, without diminishing the space allotted to the Company."

"6. The Ball Room to afford accommodations for upwards of Three thousand persons.

"7. The following arrangements are also recommended:—

**ORDER OF THE DANCES AND TABLEAUX VIVANT.**

- " 1—Grand March.
- " 2—Tableau Vivant, 'A Sketch by Boz.'
- " 3—Amilie Quadrille.
- " 4—Tableau Vivant, 'The Seasons,' a poem, " with music.
- " 5—Quadrille Waltz, selections.
- " 6—Tableau Vivant, the book of 'Oliver Twist.'
- " 7—Quadrille March, Norma.
- " 8—Tableau Vivant, 'The Ivy Green.'
- " 9—Victoria Waltz.
- " 10—Tableau Vivant, 'Little Nell.'
- " 11—Basket Quadrille.
- " 12—Tableau Vivant, the book of 'Nicholas ' Nickleby.'
- " 13—March.
- " 14—Tableau Vivant, 'A Sketch,' by Boz.
- " 15—Spanish Dance.
- " 16—Tableau Vivant, 'The Pickwick Papers.'
- " 17—Boz Waltz.
- " 18—Tableau Vivant, 'Washington Irving in "England and Charles Dickens in Amer- "ica.'
- " 19—Postillion Quadrille.
- " 20—Tableau Vivant, 'Curiosity Shop.'
- " 21—March.
- " 22—Tableau Vivant, 'The Club.'
- " 23—Contra Dance.
- " 24—Tableau Vivant, the book of 'Barnaby "Rudge.'
- " 25—Gallopade."

On motion, it was resolved, that the Chairman appoint a Sub-committee of Sixteen to carry the foregoing arrangements into effect.

The following gentlemen were then named by the Chair:—

Philip Hone, George P. Morris, Martin Hoffman, J. W. Francis, W. H. Maxwell, John W. Edmonds, Daniel B. Tallmadge, Charles W. Sandford, John C. Cheeseman, Charles A. Davis, James M. Smith, Jr., Henry Inman, Prosper M. Wetmore, Francis W. Edmonds, John R. Livingston, Jr., William Starr Miller.

The Chairman and Secretaries were subsequently added to the Committee.

The letter of invitation to Mr. Dickens being handed to Mr. Colden, the meeting then ad-

journed to meet again at the Astor House on his return from Boston.

ROBERT H. MORRIS, *Chairman.*  
D. C. COLDEN, }  
D. C. PELL, } *Secretaries.*

**2.—Meeting of Committee of Arrangements.**

The Committee of Arrangements met on Saturday evening, the twenty-ninth of January, at the Green Room of the Park Theatre, when the Chairman read the following letter from Mr. Dickens:

" TREMONT HOUSE, BOSTON, Jan. 28, 1842.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" I beg to convey to the Committee of Gentlemen, whose organ you are, my hearty and cordial thanks for their most kind congratulations, and my glad acceptance of the honor they propose to confer upon me.

" I have had the pleasure of seeing your agent, and of explaining my movements and arrangements to that gentleman.

" Rest assured that I shall only be too proud and happy to meet you at any time you may appoint, after receiving his explanation of my engagements.

" With many thanks to you and the Committee generally,

" I am, My dear Sir,

" Yours, faithfully and obliged,

" CHARLES DICKENS.

" ROBERT H. MORRIS, Esq."

The Committee thereupon Reported that the Ball take place at the Park Theater, on Monday, the fourteenth of February next.

The following Rules and Regulations to be observed on the occasion:

The doors to be opened at half-past seven, and the dancing to commence at nine o'clock.

The Committee to appear in full Ball dresses, and wear rosettes with appropriate designs.

Military and Naval officers to appear in their respective uniforms.

All fancy dresses to be positively excluded, except such as are admitted under the direction of the Committee.

An ample supply of Refreshments to be provided for the company.

Cloak and Retiring Rooms to be set apart for the accommodation of the Ladies, and suitable attendants to be in waiting.

Tickets admitting a Lady and Gentleman to be \$5. Any gentleman whose party may exceed more than one lady, to be furnished with extra ladies' tickets, not to exceed two, at \$2 each.

Cards of admission to be obtained from either of the Committee, at the Committee Room, in the Astor House, where the name of every person

who purchases a ticket will be registered in a book provided for that especial purpose.

Gentlemen applying for tickets will please to give the names of their Ladies, in order that the same may be written in the cards of invitation.

Each member of the Committee issuing tickets will endorse his own name on the back of the Cards.

An early application for Cards of admission will be necessary, as no more persons will be admitted to the fête than the Ball Room can conveniently accomodate.

An awning to be erected in front of the Theatre, to cover the sidewalk.

Carriages on arriving and departing will comply with the City regulations for the maintenance of good order at Public Assemblies.

Gentlemen are requested to dismiss their carriages on arriving at the door, and to take the one opposite to the entrance on their departure.

The Superintendent of Carriages will be in attendance to preserve regularity, and to see that no imposition be practiced upon the company through carelessness, extra charges, or otherwise.

An efficient Police to be engaged to secure order in the arrival and departure of the company.

### 3.—Meeting of the General Committee of Arrangements.

At a meeting of the General Committee, held at the Astor House, on Monday evening, the thirty-first of January, the foregoing Report was unanimously adopted, and the Executive Committee was directed to carry the same into effect.

ROBERT H. MORRIS, *Chairman.*

JNO. R. LIVINGSTON, Jr., } *Secretaries.*  
W. M. B. DEAN,

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

## XII.—COINS AND COIN COLLECTORS.

### 1.—THE MICKLEY COLLECTION.

This collection, so widely known to our readers, having passed from the hands of its author, JOSEPH J. MICKLEY, Esq., of Philadelphia, into those of the Bonner of Roxbury, Doctor W. ELLIOT WOODWARD, the latter has determined to sell it at auction in the city of New York, during the coming Autumn, and thus separate what should be kept together, in some public Institution. In order, however, that the Collection may be duly recorded, for the benefit of those who shall come after us, we propose, very briefly, to describe some of its principal features.

Passing, for the present, such specimens as the Dollar of 1804, of which only *Four* copies are

known, the Half Dime of 1802, which is still more rare, and the multitude of Mint and Pattern-pieces, Colonial coins, and Medals, the rarity and commercial value of which, in each instance, are enough to give character to any ordinary collection, we shall notice, at this time, only those rare specimens of which not more than *Two* copies are known to us; and, hereafter, if space can be afforded, we shall allude more generally to what we now omit.

FIRST: The rare SOMMER ISLAND PIECE, is here. This piece has, on the *Obverse*, a Hog, on the field of the coin, with the numerals, XII, above him, outside of all of which, within Two circles of dots, are the words SOMMER ISLANDS. On the *Reverse*, is a Three-masted vessel, firing a gun, within a circle of dots.

All who have attempted to describe this piece have said it is of *Brass*; but their error will be seen from this specimen, which is indisputably *Copper*.

This rare coin was purchased from the celebrated Hollis Collection, in England, and, until within a year, it was considered unique; but that distinction no longer belongs to it, since another copy was discovered, a few months since, in a bag of copper coins in the city of New York. The report that a third copy is in a Museum in Bermuda is not credited.

SECOND: An unique PINE-TREE SHILLING of 1650, on the *Obverse* of which is a Pine-tree in the field surrounded by a circle of large dots. Outside of the latter are the words MASATHUSETTS IN, the whole of which are, also, surrounded with another circle of dots. The *Reverse* of this piece has, on the field, the date, 1650, and the denomination, XII, outside of both which, between Two circles of dots, are the words NEW ENGLAND, AN. DO.

THIRD: Another unique PINE-TREE SHILLING of 1650, of the same general character as that which we have just described, but wholly different from that in the details of its execution—the tree, in particular, is much smaller, with limbs less numerous but more sub-divided; and the inscription possesses a more slender or wiry appearance.

FOURTH: Another unique PINE-TREE SHILLING of 1650, the *Obverse* of which, in its general features, resembles the Pine-tree and Oak-tree money; but the tree is quite unlike that on any other type—the limbs bearing a large number of Cones;—and the inscription is MASSACHUSETTS IN. The *Reverse* contains the date and denomination in the center, surrounded by Two circles of dots, between the last of which are the words NEW ENGLAND AN DO.

This piece is of silver; nearly twice as large as the two specimens before referred to; and only one other specimen of it is known.

The Three Pine-tree pieces just described, differing in date from all other known types, are believed to have been struck as Patterns, before the coinage of the Pine-tree and Oak-tree money was authorized. They were all obtained, originally, from an old gentleman in New Hampshire, who declared that they had been in his family from the period of their coinage. It is true, that their genuineness has sometimes been questioned; but the weight of evidence seems to be greatly in their favor—they were sold by their original owner for so small a sum that fraud on his part seems to have been out of the question; and Mr. Mickley, whose judgment in such cases affords a pretty sure guarantee, paid a very high price for them and never doubted their authenticity.

**FIFTH:** The unique, SILVER PINE-TREE PENNY of 1662. This excessively rare specimen, in design, resembles the other well-known Pine-tree specimens—one side bearing a Tree, more resembling an Oak than a Pine; and the other, the Date and Denomination.

The existence of the Pine-tree Penny, *in silver*, has been questioned, however; but as it was both described and figured by Felkes, who wrote at a period almost contemporary with its issue, it is only fair to conclude that the coin was *then* known; and as this piece bears every mark of genuineness it is believed to be authentic, although it is the only specimen known to be in existence.

**SIXTH:** The unique NEW ENGLAND ELEPHANT PIECE, of Copper, on the *Obverse* of which is an Elephant; and on the *Reverse*, the words GOD PRESERVE NEW ENGLAND 1694, in Five lines running across the field of the coin.

Four varieties of Elephant Half-pennies are known—that now under consideration; another with the inscription, on the *Reverse*, GOD PRESERVE CAROLINA AND THE LORDS PROPRIETORS; and two bearing on their *Reverse* GOD PRESERVE LONDON—each of which has the same Elephant on the *Obverse*.

The Carolina piece and one of the London pieces are very rare; no other copy than this, of the New England piece is known; but the other London piece is quite common.

**SEVENTH:** The unique NEW ENGLAND STIVER, the following description of which, from Mr. Mickley's Catalogue, embraces all that is known or has been conjectured concerning it:

*"Obverse, NEW ENGLAND. M. Reverse, 1 S. V. C. Two lions, rudely executed, to Right and Left, in field of the coin. See Dickeson Plate XX., No. 14.*

"No one acquainted with the coins of Holland can hesitate for a moment as to the origin of this: it differs in no respect, in its general appearance and particular style of workmanship from the Dutch Stiver of Two hundred years ago."

We are told, also, that Mr. Mickley, "with great ingenuity and probability rendered the letters 'on the Reverse, 1 S[tiver] V[on] C[onnecticut],' and that 'here, for the present, speculation may as well rest';" but, notwithstanding the *ingenuity* referred to, the *probability* of the case is not so apparent, since the Dutch neither recognized their Colony on the Connecticut, as in "New England" but in *Nieuw Nederland*,\* nor inscribed their coins in *English*, but good *Dutch* or *Latin*; nor had they any currency especially for New Netherland except Beaver-skins and Wampum.

Whatever may have been the origin of this piece, it possesses great interest to every American Numismatist; and its late owner regarded it not only as one of the most valuable, but one of the most important specimens in his vast collection.

It is of copper, a little larger in size than a Dime.

**EIGHTH:** The unique ANNAPOLIS SHILLING. The *Obverse* of this piece has, in three lines across the field, the words EQUAL TO ONE SHILLING, with a branch above, and clasped hands below, the legend. The words I. CHALMERS ANNAPOLIS, 1783, are also on this face of the piece, and probably designate the name of the artist by whom it was struck. On the *Reverse* are a pole with liberty-cap, an eye above Thirteen stars, and Thirteen rings arranged as an endless chain.

This piece is of Silver; and as it differs from all other known specimens, on both the *Obverse* and the *Reverse*, it is probably a Trial piece.

**NINTH:** THE LORD BALTIMORE PENNY, which is so celebrated among Numismatists.

This celebrated coin presents, on the *Obverse*, a profile bust of Lord Baltimore, facing the left, with the legend CÆCILIUS DNS TERRÆ MARIAE & C.; and, on the *Reverse*, Two flags issuing from a Ducal Coronet, with the legend, DENARIUM TERRÆ MARIAE.

It was formerly in the cabinet of James Bindley, Esq., of England; and as Mr. Mickley purchased it at auction, in England, for about £100 in gold, when American coins were little cared for, it may be considered, in a commercial sense, the most valuable of American coins. It is of copper; nearly as large as a half cent; and is widely known among Numismatists, both in Europe and America, as possessing unusual inter-

\* This is no where more apparent than in the Journal of the Delegates from New Netherland to the General Assembly at Hartford, in which, under date of "20th October" 1663, while answering the claim of Connecticut to part of Long Island as included in the Patent of the former, it is said that that Patent "contained a tract of land lying in America, in New England, AND, CONSEQUENTLY, NOT IN NEW NETHERLAND." The Dutch made no pretensions of Sovereignty over *New England*, while they denied all rights of Sovereignty, claimed by others, in *New Netherland*.—H. B. D.

est. It is undoubtedly unique; and the struggle to obtain it will probably form one of the features of the intended sale.

TENTH: An unique FLORIDA PIECE, on the *Obverse* of which is a bust of Charles III. of Spain, with the legend, CAROLUS III. D. G. REX; and on the *Reverse*, a full-blown Rose, with a leaf and bud on a stem, and the legend, JUAN ESTEVAN DE PENA FLORIDA 1760.

It is of silver, about the size and weight of a Half Dollar, and was found by Mr. Mickley, in circulation. It is without a history; but some have supposed that it was struck for presentation to the savages.

ELEVENTH: An unique ROSA AMERICANA HALF PENNY of 1722, the *Obverse* of which presents a bust of George I., facing the Right, with the legend, GEORGIUS DEI GRATIA REX, the whole surrounded with a circle of dots; and the *Reverse* a full-blown Rose, with the legend, ROSA AMERICANA UTILE DULCI 1722.

It is of a compound, resembling brass, with its edge engraved, the last rendering it unique, since all others of this Class have plain edges.

TWELFTH: The very rare ROSA AMERICANA FARTHING of 1723, the *Obverse* and *Reverse* of which resemble the last-mentioned piece, except in its size. It is peculiar, however, in bearing the date of 1723; since the *Rosas* of that date usually present a *Crown above the Rose*, which this does not.

Only one other specimen of this type is known.

THIRTEENTH: An unique ROSA AMERICANA HALF PENNY of 1724, bearing devices similar to that of 1722, just described, except that the Rose is Crowned, like the ordinary *Rosas* of 1723.

It is of a compound resembling Silver; and no other copy is known bearing this date.

FOURTEENTH: The unique ROSA AMERICANA PENNY, in Steel, which has been so often described and is so widely known to Collectors.

Its *Obverse* bears a laureated head, facing to the left, with the legend, GEORGIVS, II. D. G. REX. The *Reverse* is plain.

FIFTEENTH: The unique FUGIO, or FRANKLIN CENT, of 1787, showing, on the *Obverse*, a Dial with meridian Sun above; to the right, 1787; to the left, FUGIO; in the exergue, MIND YOUR BUSINESS. On its *Reverse* is a Sun, with depressed center, inscribed WE ARE ONE; on a label within the rays, but outside of the center, AMERICAN CONGRESS; around the Sun, an endless chain of Thirteen links, each inscribed with the name of an original State.

SIXTEENTH: The very rare FUGIO, or FRANKLIN CENT, of 1787, bearing on its *Obverse* the Sun and Dial, as in the last-named, but entirely without inscriptions; and on its *Reverse*, the same Sun, and Chain, and Names of States as

the last-named, but *without the central inscription of WE ARE ONE.*

The *Fugios*, or Franklin Cents, so named because they generally bear One of Franklin's sententious sayings, are very frequently seen; but the types are entirely unlike the Two pieces just described, the first of which is believed to be unique, and of the second, two specimens only are known.

SEVENTEENTH: The unique U. S. A. or BAR HALF CENT, which displays on its *Obverse* only the letters U. S. A.; and on its *Reverse*, Thirteen parallel bars, occupying the entire surface of the coin.

The Bar Cent, which has no known history, is of very great rarity, but is occasionally met with in collections of early American coins; but the Half Cent differs from it in being only one-half the size and weight, and in the arrangement of the letters on the *Obverse*, which, in the Cent, not only extend over each other, but together cover a large portion of the field of the coin, while, in the Half Cent, the letters are of more moderate size, stand entirely separate, and occupy only a small space in the center of the field.

EIGHTEENTH: The very rare MASSACHUSETTS CENT of 1787, on the *Obverse* of which is an Eagle, bearing a Shield, and holding in his right talon a bundle of arrows, and in his left an Olive-branch, with the inscription MASSACHUSETTS 1787; and on the *Reverse*, an Indian, standing with a Bow in his Right hand and an Arrow in his Left, and the legend COMMON\* WEALTH.

The Massachusetts Cents are not uncommon; but the peculiarity of this specimen consists in the *reversed position* of the Arrow and the Olive Branch—and of this type only one other specimen is known.

NINETEENTH: The very rare NEW JERSEY CENT of 1786, on the *Obverse* of which is a Horse's head with a band under it, under both of which is a Plow, with the date, 1786, under the beam, and the legend, NOVA CÆSAREA; and on the *Reverse*, a Shield, with the legend, E PLURIBUS UNUM.

The New Jersey Cents usually bear the date in the Exergue; and only One other copy of this variety is known.

TWENTIETH: The unique LIBER NATUS, bearing on the *Obverse* a Bust, facing to the Right, with the legend, GEORGIUS III. REX; and on the *Reverse*, an Indian, standing, with a Tomahawk in his Right hand and a Bow in his Left, with the legend, LIBER NATUS LIBERTATEM DEFENDO.

Among the rarest of our early Coins are Two varieties of the *Liber Natus*, One of which bears the arms and motto of the State of New York, the

other a design which is somewhat different. The *Obverse* of this, it will be observed, is entirely distinct from either.

**TWENTY-FIRST:** The unique PATTERN DOLLAR of 1783, showing, on its *Obverse*, the inscription, U. S. 1000, surrounded with a wreath, with the legend, LIBERTAS JUSTITIA 1783; and, on its *Reverse*, a Sun between whose several rays are Stars, Thirteen in all, the whole surrounded by the legend, NOVA CONSTELLATIO.

**TWENTY-SECOND:** The unique PATTERN HALF DOLLAR of 1783, bearing a design which is exactly similar to that of the Dollar, last described, with the exception, in this case, of a Mint-mark of Three leaves, a difference in the *arrangement* of the external legend, and the inscription within the wreath, which is U. S. 500.

These Two pieces, which are the earliest known Patterns and Designs for the Federal coinage, are probably the pieces referred to in the *Journal of Robert Morris*, under date of the second and twenty-second of April, 1783, published in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for January, 1867. (*New Series*, i, 32.)

**TWENTY-THIRD:** The unique PATTERN CENT of 1792, having on the *Obverse*, a head of Liberty, facing the Right, with flowing hair, with the date 1792, just below the Bust, the whole surrounded with the legend, LIBERTY PARENT OF SCIENCE & INDUSTRY; on the *Reverse*, the inscription ONE CENT, encircled by a wreath, the whole surrounded by the legend, THIRTEEN STATES OF AMERICA 1-100; and on the *Edge*, the legend, TO BE ESTEEMED, BE USEFUL.

This is of Copper; bearing a beautiful design; and nearly twice as heavy and twice as large as the ordinary Copper Cent.

**TWENTY-FOUR:** The very rare PATTERN CENT of 1803, on the *Obverse* of which is a singularly miserable Eagle, the word LIBERTY, and, surrounding the Eagle, Thirteen dots with the date at the bottom; and, on the *Reverse*, within a wreath, the words ONE CENT, and, surrounding the whole, the legend UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. 1-100.

We have no information concerning the origin of this piece; but it is probably unique.

**TWENTY-FIVE:** The extremely rare WASHINGTON CENT, on which the *Obverse* presents a Bust, facing the Left, with the inscription, GEO WASHINGTON BORN VIRGINIA FEB 11 1732; and the *Reverse*, a large Eagle, with the Shield, Olive-branch, and Arrows, and, on Two labels depending from its beak, the legend, E PLURIBUS UNUM; and with One star near the head of the Eagle and Twelve others arranged in a curve, above.

The Washington Cent bearing the naked bust has been sold at auction at prices varying from

Four hundred to Four hundred and eighty dollars; and, because of its extreme rarity, has been considered the most desirable of all the Washington pieces: hereafter this Cent, which is co-eval with that, and in all probability unique, must take precedence.

**TWENTY-SIX:** The unique WASHINGTON CONFEDERATIO of 1785. This very rare piece displays on its *Obverse*, a Bust, facing the Right, with the hair tied in a queue, and the legend GEN WASHINGTON surrounding them; and, on its *Reverse*, a Sun, with Thirteen Stars, with the legend CONFEDERATIO 1785, surrounding them.

The *Confederatio*, of which there are several varieties, are all of extreme rarity. This specimen, combining in One piece Two most important classes of American Coins, will be undoubtedly considered the most important of the series.

This celebrated collection contains numerous specimens, each of which is nearly if not quite as rare as the greater number of those to which we have referred; but our limits have been reached and we must forbear, until our next, any attempt to describe them. We shall endeavor, however, before the collection shall be separated, to secure a complete description of it; and our readers shall, in case of our success, have the benefit of it.

MORRISANIA, N. Y., July, 1867. H. B. D.

### XIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places, and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

**A REMINISCENCE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN—His LECTURE AT THE COOPER INSTITUTE IN 1860.**

OLD ORCHARD (SACO), Me., August 13, 1867.  
To the Editors of the *New York Evening Post*:

In October, 1859, Messrs. Joseph H. Richards, J. M. Pettingill, and S. W. Tubbs, called on me at the office of the Ohio State Agency, 25 William street, and requested me to write to the Hon. Thomas Corwin of Ohio, and the Hon. Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, and invite them to lecture, in a course of lectures these young gentlemen proposed for the winter, in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. I wrote the letters as requested, and offered as compensation for each lecture, as I was authorized, the sum of Two hundred dollars. The proposition to lecture was accepted by Messrs. Corwin and Lincoln. Mr. Corwin delivered his lecture in Plymouth Church as he was on his way to Washington to attend Congress. Mr. Lincoln could not lecture until late in the season,

and a proposition was agreed to by the gentlemen named, and accepted by Mr. Lincoln, as the following letter will show:

" DANVILLE, ILL., Nov. 13, 1859.

" JAMES A. BRIGGS, ESQ.,

" DEAR SIR: Yours of the 1st closing with my proposition for compromise, was duly received. "I will be on hand; and in due time will notify you of the exact day. I believe, after all, I shall make a political speech of it. You have "no objection?"

" I would like to know, in advance, whether I "am also to speak or lecture in New York.

" Very, very glad your election went right.

" Yours, truly,

" A. LINCOLN.

" P. S. I am here at court, but my address is "still at Springfield, Ill."

In due time Mr. Lincoln wrote me that he would deliver the lecture, a political one, on the evening of the twenty-seventh of February, 1860. This was rather late in the season for a lecture, and the young gentlemen who were responsible were doubtful about its success, as the expenses were large. It was stipulated that the lecture was to be in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn; I requested and urged that the lecture should be delivered at the Cooper Institute. They were fearful it would not pay expenses—Three hundred and fifty dollars;—I thought it would.

In order to relieve Messrs. Richards, Pettingill, and Tubbs, of all responsibility, I called upon some of the officers of the "Young Men's Republican Union," and proposed that they should take Mr. Lincoln, and that the lecture should be delivered under their auspices. They respectfully declined.

I next called upon Mr. Simeon Draper, then President of "The Draper Republican Union Club of New York," and proposed to him that his "Union" take Mr. Lincoln and the lecture, and assume the responsibility of the expenses. Mr. Draper and his friends declined, and Mr. Lincoln was left in the hands of "the original Jacobs."

After considerable discussion, it was agreed on the part of the young gentlemen, that the lecture should be delivered in the Cooper Institute, if I would agree to share the expenses, if the sale of tickets (Twenty-five cents each) for the lecture did not meet the outlay. To this I assented—and the lecture was advertised to be delivered in the Cooper Institute, on the evening of the twenty-seventh of February.

Mr. Lincoln read the notice of the lecture in the papers, and, without any knowledge of the arrangement, was somewhat surprised to learn that he was first to make his appearance before a New York instead of a "Plymouth Church" audience. A notice of the proposed lecture ap-

peared in the New York papers, and the *Times* spoke of him "as a lawyer who had some local reputation in Illinois."

At my personal solicitation, Mr. William Cullen Bryant presided as Chairman of the meeting, and introduced Mr. Lincoln for the first time to a New York audience.

The lecture was a wonderful success. It has become a part of the history of the country. Its remarkable ability was everywhere acknowledged; and after the twenty-seventh of February, the name of Mr. Lincoln was a familiar one to the people of the East. After Mr. Lincoln closed his lecture, Mr. David Dudley Field, Mr. James W. Nye, Mr. Horace Greeley, and myself, were called out by the audience, and made short speeches. I remember saying then: "One of "Three gentlemen will be our Standard Bearer "in the Presidential contest of this year; the "distinguished Senator of New York, Mr. Sew- "ard; the late able and accomplished Governor "of Ohio, Mr. Chase; or the 'unknown knight' "who entered the political lists against the Bois "Gilbert of Democracy, Stephen A. Douglas, on "the prairies of Illinois in 1858, and unhorsed "him—Abraham Lincoln."

Some friends joked me after the meeting as not being a "good prophet." The lecture was over; all the expenses were paid; I was handed by the gentlemen interested the sum of Four dollars and twenty-five cents as my share of the profits, as they would have called on me if there had been a deficiency in the receipts to meet expenses.

Immediately after the lecture Mr. Lincoln went to Exeter, N. H., to visit his son Robert, then at school there, and I sent him a check for Two hundred dollars. Mr. Tubbs informed me a few weeks ago, that after the check was paid at the Park Bank he tore it up, but that he would give Two hundred dollars for the check if it could be restored—with the indorsement on it of "A. Lincoln"—as it was made payable to the order of Mr. Lincoln.

After the return of Mr. Lincoln to New York from the East, where he had made several speeches, he said to me: "I have seen what all the New York papers said about that thing of mine in the Cooper Institute, with the exception of the *New York Evening Post*, and I would like to know what Mr. Bryant thought of it;" and he then added: "It is worth a visit from Springfield, Illinois, to New York, to make the acquaintance of such a man as William Cullen Bryant." At Mr. Lincoln's request I sent him a copy of the *Evening Post*, with a notice of his lecture.

On returning from Mr. Beecher's church on a Sunday, in company with Mr. Lincoln, as we were passing the Post-office, I remarked to him: "Mr. Lincoln, I wish you would take particular

"notice of what a dark and dismal place we have here for a Post-office, and I do it for this reason: "I think your chance for being the next President is equal to that of any man in the country. "When you are President will you recommend an appropriation of a million of dollars for a suitable location for a Post-office in this city?" With a significant gesture, Mr. Lincoln remarked, "I will make a note of that."

On going up Broadway with him in the evening, from the Astor House, to hear the Rev. Dr. Chapin, Mr. Lincoln said to me, "When I was East, several gentlemen made about the same remark to me that you did to-day about the Presidency; they thought my chances were about equal to the best."

JAMES A. BRIGGS.

and he enjoys very good health, and thinks he may yet reach the fourth. His voice is as strong as when in early manhood he sang to his love by the ocean shore. He converses very well, and loves to relate the incidents of his early life, which he remembers distinctly.

G. W. HAMMOND.

[Correspondence of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, July, 1867.]

#### XIV.—NOTES.

**FORT HALIFAX, MAINE.**—As a protection against the Indians, who were often stirred up to hostilities on the frontiers of Maine by the French, even in times of peace, a wooden Fort was erected in 1754. It was situated near the place where the waters of the Sebasticook issue into the Kennebec. The strength and importance of this work were deemed enough to warrant some demonstration of joy at its completion, and a Latin inscription, which is here given. The Maine Historical Society has proposed measures for the preservation of the old, failing, and only remaining part of the defences, in the form of a Block-House.

[INSCRIPTION.]

Quod felix faustum quesuit  
PROVINCIAE MASSACHUSETTENSIS,  
Hunc lapidem posuit  
GULIELMUS SHIRLEY, GUBERNATOR;  
Sub auspiciis  
Nobilissimi GEORGI MONTAGUE DUCK,  
Comitis de HALIFAX;  
Provinciarum,  
Quotquot sunt ditionis Brittanicae,  
Per AMERICAM utramque,  
Præfeci atq: Patroni illustrissimi:  
Die 3 Septembris, A.D. 1754.

BRUNSWICK.

B.

**GEORGE WAYMOUTH.**—A long-mooted question as to the river explored by this navigator in 1605, on the coast of Maine, has involved the visibility of the White Mountains of New Hampshire from the island of Monhegan and its neighboring waters. This fact has been denied by some of the writers, who have thought the Penobscot or the Georges was the river, and has been asserted by the favorers of the Kennebec. To support the denial the aid of mathematics has been invoked to show that the rotundity of the earth must prevent the sight; while to support the

assertion the testimony of seamen and travelers has been called in, who declare that they have seen the summits at a distance even greater than Monhegan.

An intelligent gentleman of our State, interested in historical pursuits, has recently visited the island, and was gratified with an ocular demonstration of the fact asserted, though not at all claiming it in aid of the Kennebec theory. In a letter he says:

" You need not trouble yourself about the White Mountains further. There is no question about their visibility from this island. I saw Mt. Washington distinctly last evening from the light-house. Capt. D. and the light-house keeper and several others saw it. It was distinctly visible from sunset until dark. From the light-house I saw that and two other peaks. The keeper has seen them often."

In addition to this testimony it may be stated that the present writer, while recently on the island, was assured by at least a dozen persons that these mountains were so often visible as to occasion no special remark; and could be seen, not only from the elevation at the light-house, but on the shore, and by the fishermen while engaged in their work on the waters near by. This witness agrees with Christopher Levett, in 1623-4, and scores of others since his day. It does not, indeed, determine the river ascended by Waymouth; but it removes one of the difficulties in interpreting the obscure account of his voyage as to the Kennebec.

B. BRUNSWICK, ME.

## XV.—QUERIES.

HESSIAN MUSIC-BOOK OF 1776.—The Hessian band of music, of Nine pieces, captured at Trenton, on the twenty-sixth of December, 1776, was present in Philadelphia at the celebration of the ensuing Fourth of July.

The prisoners taken on that occasion were transported across the Delaware, under guard of Colonel Patterson's Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment.

From one of the band, the Fife-major of the Regiment obtained a MS. music-book, now in my possession; the pieces in the book are all English, and among them we have the *Hessian Camp*, *Grenadier's March*, *Boston March*, and *Boston Delight*. The water-mark is peculiar, consisting of a lion crowned, standing erect, facing to the left, with a long staff bearing what appears to be a bauble over its left shoulder, and the animal is placed upon a low square pedestal, inscribed "Vry hyt." A circular legend, "Pro Patria Ejusque Libertate," surmounted by a large

crown, surrounds the whole. The Anspacher flag captured at Trenton bore the motto, "Pro Principe et Patria."

I should like to know where the paper of this book was manufactured? I. J. G.  
NEW YORK CITY.

APING RANK OR TITLE.—An American citizen who was United States *Charge* at a foreign court, is now traveling in Europe with his wife. Although he has left the United States service, he has his cards printed thus: "The Honorable Mr. and Mrs. ——." Pray what authority, propriety, or precedent, is there for this?

REPUBLICAN.

AMERICAN FLAGS.—A reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE would like to know where he can find a description of the early flags used in the United States, and as to when and on what waters they were first displayed? B. A.

JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA.—The first permanent white settlement in the United States took place in 1607. It was on an island or peninsula in Powhatan or James River, Virginia. Although the whole went to ruin, on account of the unhealthiness of the place, there was one solitary inhabitant who still clung to the spot and was alive in 1831.

It would be interesting to know all about this man; and so as to include when and under what circumstances he died.

SWAMP.

WOODBRIDGE.—What were the names and alliances of the 12 children of John and Mercy (Dudley) of Andover?

What is known of "Capt. Thomas <sup>2</sup>W." son of the above? Who was "Mary W. wid. of Thomas <sup>m.</sup> to Jos<sup>b</sup> Coker."

What descendants exist of Joseph <sup>2</sup>W. and Martha (Rogers) his wife?

Who was the "Mr. W. m., to Deborah Totten in 1686?"

Who and how many were the wives of Rev. Timothy of Hartford, with their respective children?

Answers too long for publication—please enclose to L. W., 128 E. 18th Street, New York.

E. H. D.

COLONEL GLASIER.—There was a Colonel Glasier, who served under Sir William Johnson, and was stationed at Saratoga in 1756. Can any reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE furnish any information in regard to him?

WORCESTER.

## XVI.—REPLIES.

POPHAM'S MEMORY, (*H. M.*, New Series, ii., 42.)—A correspondent with a fanciful signature, perseveres in chasing the *small* game of a verbal criticism on the use of the word “conse-crate,” as connected with the memory of C. J. Popham. It is enough to reply from Webster's *Dictionary*, which gives as a proper meaning of the word, “to render venerable, to dignify;” and cites Burke as authority. This is enough to sustain its use by the Hon. Mr. Bourne.

He says that Popham had “so vile a memory,” i. e. reputation. Not so thought his contemporary, John Smith, writing after his death, who pointed to him as “that honorable patron of virtue.” Not so wrote Strachey of the same age, whose record is “the upright and noble gentleman;” nor Hubbard, a little later, who presents him as the “honorable patron of justice and virtue.” Is this the character to leave a “vile memory?”

He says that Popham's Epitaph “is a notable ‘instance’ of the ‘proverbially false’ character of this kind of composition. I have never seen it, and therefore cannot judge. Has he?”

He asks for the “original” of the word “consecrate.” This he will find in Webster, and its several uses.

The Kennebec was not the “initial enterprise.” Oh, no! Virginia was a little earlier, under the same Charter of 1606. But I was writing about New England. Gosnold's expedition had no Charter; did not occupy its small house for a day, probably not for a moment, after its completion; and abandoned the coast in less than Three weeks after its arrival at the selected place. The “initial enterprise” of a *Chartered* Colony in New England, was at the mouth of the Kennebec, under George Popham; who died in the service there.

The historian of *Ancient Pemaquid* gives him the good character of being counted by New England, as “among the earliest if not the very first ‘of her illustrious dead.’”

Then he says that “Virginia was the other ‘penal Colony.’” When? *Not till 1619, long after both the Pophams were dead.* And when was the Kennebec Colony a *penal* one? NEVER.

He says, too, “the great principles connected with it were only to solve the question, whether ‘or not mynes were there;’ and if ‘they could be profitably worked by the enforced labor of ‘criminals.’” Not so thought Hubbard and Williamson. They say nothing about “criminals” here: not did any one else, in the whole historic world, till less than Five years ago. The careful historian of Maine says: “This plantation ‘was undertaken by its patrons with a determination worthy of great and enterprising minds,

“resolved on the accomplishment of their purposes; and sure of the greatest advantages to be derived from its establishment and prosperity.” He refers to Hubbard as a support to his positions.

It is not difficult to see why some minds, whose writings are dated “BOSTON,” should be ready to spring to verbal criticisms on the performances at the Kennebec; to indulge in personal reflections on the writers in behalf of the Popham Colony, as in the present article; and make assertions about the Colony itself, which no contemporaneous authority sanctions, with even the shadow of probability. In the mean time the “Popham Celebration” is gaining favor year by year. The true history of the Colony and its influence in the illustration of the principles set forth in the Charter of 1606, as afterward spread over all New England, are annually becoming more and more widely studied and willingly allowed.

CUMBERLAND.

BRUNSWICK, ME.

DOCTOR RUSH.—At page Forty-two of your July number is a query as to “what authority exists for the charge frequently made, that ‘Doctor Rush was the Author of the anonymous letter against General Washington which was sent to Patrick Henry.’”

I presume by “authority” the querist means “evidence,” and this is abundant.

1. General Washington says that the letter is in Rush's well-known hand writing.

2. The anonymous letter itself shows it to be Rush's. It is extant and in the possession of Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer, of Philadelphia.

3. The family of Doctor Rush admit the letter to be his, but claim, or at least Bancroft does, that Washington forgave him for writing it.

4. In the year 1804, when Chief Justice Marshall's biography was in the press, Doctor Rush and his family conceded the letter to be his, and supplicated Judge Marshall to suppress Washington's indignant comment on it. They so far succeeded that, with asterisks to indicate the omission, the passage was omitted. The correspondence on this subject is also in Mr. Dreer's possession. The writer of this communication has a copy of it.

5. It was Doctor Rush's persistent habit to write anonymous letters and anonymous libels.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

A. B.

## THE RUNIC HOAX.—

NEW YORK, Sept. 5, 1867.

MR. DAWSON,

DEAR SIR: In answer to your note of inquiry, I would state that the Runic Inscription said to have been found on the Arrow Rock below Potomac Falls, is now known to be a shallow hoax,

by no means comparable to the Great Moon Hoax, which exhibited some genius and wit.

This Runic Hoax is a piece of pleasantry said to have been perpetrated by the son of a Pennsylvania Senator—who thus ventilates his Scandinavian lore.

It first appeared in the Washington *Evening Union*, a little penny paper, which has made great capital out of the sensation, and published so much about the "Great Discovery" and the mythical "Professor Raffinsen," that the newsboys dubbed it the *Evening Runic*. I trust the Potomac rock may not prove to all concerned, *Lapis offensionis, et petra scandali*.

The fabricator of this Pickwickian inscription is by no means a pioneer in this species of fraud. Such deceivers have appeared at different times, always adapting their efforts to the prevailing opinion of the day, on the origin of our aborigines. The discovery of America, with its numerous inhabitants, set the savans of the old world to work, to account for the peopling of this great Continent.

The theory of a Hebrew origin found the earliest and most numerous supporters, and was followed by the Scandinavian hypothesis.

The first inscription said to have been found in this country was about the year 1740, after the New England missionaries imagined that they had discovered traces of some Jewish rites amongst the Indians, and when the theory of the Lost Tribes had found many supporters. It consisted of a Hebrew inscription executed upon some rocks in Connecticut. The next was the pretended discovery of a Jewish shekel amongst some human remains at La Porte, Indiana. Then came the April hoax, the Louisiana Hebrew inscription, which deceived some of our astute antiquaries. This was soon followed by the wonderful Wyrick stones, so skillfully covered with Hebrew inscriptions, and said to have been found in the mounds near Newark, Ohio. Attempts were made to dispose of these stones to some of our Societies as genuine relics. Articles exposing their pretensions appeared in both the *New York Times* and *Harper's Weekly*, yet it is said they found a purchaser at the West.

Since the discovery and translation of the Icelandic sagas, persons may be found who can see in the scratches on the Dighton, Tiverton, and Portsmouth rocks, evidence of an early Scandinavian visit to this continent. Hence the historic interest diverted in that direction may have suggested the Potomac hoax.

E. H. D.

PORLAND, ME., Sept. 4, 1867.

MR. DAWSON:

Your correspondent, "PHILO," (page 41, July Number, HIST. MAG.), asks for the answer to *War in Disguise* "published by Riley, N. Y., 1806."

I have that *Answer* now before me, in a bound volume of pamphlets, published and collected by Riley, of N. Y. I annex the title page in full :

"An||Answer||to||War in Disguise||or||Remarks||upon||The New Doctrine of England,||concerning||NEUTRAL TRADE.

"Illud natura non patiatur, ut aliorum spoliis nostras facultates, || copias, opes, augeamus ; et "unum debeat esse omnibus propositum, ut || eadem sit utilitas unius cuiusque et universarem, "quam si ad se quisque ||rapiat, dissolvitur omnis humana consortio." Cicero de Oratore, 3.

"New York : || Printed by Hopkins & Seymour, || For I. Riley & C<sup>o</sup>. New York, And Edmund Morford, || Charleston. || — February, 1806."

On the next page is the Copy-right and Certificate to Isaac Riley. On the page opposite to this is the "PREFACE," || in Ten lines italics, in which he says: "In the hope that these sheets may be "impartially considered, the writer will not affix "his name. He will however, to obviate un- "founded objection, so far gratify the curious as "to say, that he is not a Practitioner of the Law; "he is not a Merchant; he has no interest in "Trade; he holds no office; and has no connec- "tion with those who administer the Govern- "ment." These Two leaves are not paged.

The fourth page is headed "An Answer||To||War in Disguise &c ||".

It commences thus: "The Pamphlet, entitled "War in Disguise, on which we are about to "make some remarks, is the production of no "mean ability. We have been told, that it was "written by direction of the English Cabinet. "This however, we do not believe."

The pamphlet is an octavo of Seventy-six pages. After "Finis," is this note: "The first edition "of War in Disguise in 8v<sup>o</sup>, & the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition in "12m<sup>o</sup>; for sale, wholesale and retail, by I. Riley & C<sup>o</sup> N<sup>o</sup> 1, City Hotel, Broadway."

I have, also, bound in the same volume, another pamphlet, entitled "War without Disguise; || "or, ||The Frauds||of||Neutral Commerce|| A justi- "fication of Neutral Captures; || With observa- "tions||on the||Answer to War in Disguise,|| 1<sup>nd</sup> || "Mr. Madison's Examination; || —— Showing "That The True Interests of America Require|| "The Rigid Application of the||British Rule of "756."

"Printed in America||1807."

Title, blank page, and Preface, Four pages; pamphlet, Eighty-seven pages. In the closing part of the Preface, the Author says: "With the "positions of War in Disguise, the Answer to it, "and Mr. Madison's pamphlet, it is presumed "every one is acquainted. Should those of the "little tract now published be assailed, they may, "if deemed in danger, be defended."

Your obedient servant,

W. M. WILLIS.

## XVII.—BOOKS.

## 1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*Journal kept by Hugh Finlay, Surveyor of the Post Roads on the Continent of North America, during his Survey of the Post Offices between Falmouth and Casco Bay in the Province of Massachusetts, and Savannah in Georgia; begun the 18th September, 1778, and ended 26th June, 1774.* Brooklyn: Frank H. Norton, 1867. Quarto, pp. xxviii, 94.

The title-page describes very correctly the contents of this volume: it is simply a Journal of an official tour of inspection along the Post-routes of America, during the Colonial period, with memoranda of the Postmasters' mode of doing their business, of their settlements of accounts, and of their suggestions offered for the good of the service.

There is a very interesting sketch of the route from the Kennebec, through the Wilderness, to the River Chaudiere—probably that over which Arnold traveled, a couple of years later; and, sometimes, there are glimpses of the character of the roads and ferries, along the different Post-routes.

The *Journal* is prefaced with an elaborate Introduction, in which are several interesting documents concerning the Mail-service of that period; but the Editor has done little beyond the mere collection of the papers and the re-production of the letter of the manuscript *Journal* of the Tour.

There is very little in the volume which is of any real value to the historical student; yet it is an interesting work to every one who delights in the narrative of a tour through the Colonies, a short time prior to the War of the Revolution; and we can safely commend it to such a class of readers.

It is not, by any means, a handsome book, although what is known as "privately printed;" and we understand the edition numbers a hundred and fifty copies.

2.—*Notes concerning Peter Pelham, the earliest resident artist in New England, and his successors prior to the Revolution.* Reprinted, with additions, from the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* for 1866-67. By William H. Whitmore. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son, 1867. Octavo, pp. 31.

Mr. Whitmore is known to students as a most careful and conscientious writer of History and Genealogy; and we open whatever bears his name without doubt, either concerning the thoroughness of his research, the accuracy of his statements, or the elegance of his style.

In the tract before us, he has unearthed an old painter and engraver who lived and labored in Boston before Smibert appeared there, who married for his second wife the widow Copley, became the step-father and tutor of John Singleton Copley, and died in December, 1751; and he has followed with passing notices of John Smibert, Henry Pelham, Copley, Nathaniel Smibert, Greenwood, Jennys, Blackburn, Hurd, Mrs. Morehead,

Johnson, Turner, Lynde, Johnston, Dewing, Okey, and Revere, all of them resident artists in New England, in the ante-Revolutionary era.

The tract is crowded with the evidence of its own correctness; and fully sustains the well-earned reputation of its Author, as an earnest and diligent student and a faithful and graceful author.

It seems to have been privately-printed; but we have no information concerning the number of copies printed.

3.—*Letter of Horace Greeley to Messrs. George W. Blunt, John A. Kennedy, John O. Stone, Stephen Hyatt, and others, Members of the Union League Club.* Privately Printed, 1867. Octavo, pp. ii, (unpaged) 13.

In a recent number, we referred to a very elegant re-print of Mr. Marble's celebrated Letter to President Lincoln: the volume before us is a companion volume containing Mr. Greeley's Letter to his brethren of the Union League Club, with which all our readers are perfectly acquainted.

It is a most sumptuous production, from the Bradstreet Press; and we have rarely seen a more beautiful specimen of printing. It was printed only for presents; and the edition numbered Ninety-nine copies.

4.—*The Publications of the Prince Society, established May 25, 1858. John Dunton's Letters from New England.* Boston: Printed for the Society, 1867. Small quarto, pp. xxiv, 340. Price \$6.00.

John Dunton, a son of a minister, a native of Huntingdonshire, and by profession a bookseller, seems to have gratified a passion for roving by visiting New England in 1685. He reached Boston in February, 1686, and London, on his return, in the beginning of the following August.

He visited Holland soon after; and on his return to London he resumed his business as a bookseller; established *The Athenian Mercury*—probably the great original of the *Notes and Queries*, as well as of *The HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*—in which he was assisted, among others, by his uncle, the father of the Revs. John and Charles Wesley; and was soon at the head of an extensive business. After a series of ups and downs, he died in obscurity, in 1733, aged Seventy-four years.

The object of this visit to New England was to collect debts amounting to £500, which the book-reading public in Massachusetts was owing to him and had not been very ready to pay; and he had "a great number of Books very proper for that place," including *Continuation of the Morning Exercises*, for which he wanted a market—it is not impossible, also, he was a voluntary exile, because of his sympathy with the discomfited Monmouth, a refugee from England for his own immediate safety, although even

then under bonds to appear and answer in the case before his Majesty's Justice.

The volume before us is composed of letters descriptive of this trip to New England. The first relates to his trip as far as the Isle of Wight; the second relates to the remainder of his voyage; the third to the seventh inclusive relate to the Town of Boston and its inhabitants, and to the surrounding country, and the eighth to his return voyage and concluding remarks.

These letters are crowded with descriptions of the manners, customs, etc., of the Indians, adapted from Roger Williams's *Key*, and often in his words; and they are exceedingly interesting to the local antiquary because of their minute descriptions of the leading inhabitants of Boston, of the surrounding villages, and of the manners, customs, and character of the Colonists.

There is little doubt in our own mind that the whole affair was a bookseller's job; but we have no doubt, also, that it is based on actual observation or, at least so far as the matter relating to the Indians was concerned, on such reputable authorities as Jocelyn and Roger Williams. There is no doubt, in our own mind, of the general correctness of the Author; and we are sustained in this opinion by Mr. Whitmore, the learned Editor of the work, who describes his letters as "unique sketches of New-England 'life, honestly drawn, and defective rather than 'erroneous,'" (p. xxiv.), and says "Dunton visited 'Boston, was received by the clergy and reputable citizens with friendship, and wrote a trust-'worthy account of what he saw;" and that "his sketches of New England certainly contain 'internal evidence of being the work of a resi-'dent here, and on the whole his testimony is 'favorable to the inhabitants," (p. 308.)

It is important, therefore, to know what so reputable an Author, thus endorsed by one of Boston's most enthusiastic admirers and most sensitive burghers, had to say concerning the Massachusetts men, the Boston men, of the olden time; and we turned over his pages with fear and trembling lest at the mouth of so honest and trustworthy a witness we should be convicted of "partiality" and "falsity," in what we had said on that great question. Our readers will find, on pages 69 and 70, these words: "There is no 'Trading for a stranger with them, which is, 'not to part with your Ware without ready 'money; for they are generally very backward 'in their payments, great Censors of other Men's 'Manners, but extreamly careless of their own, 'yet they have a ready correction for every vice. 'As to their Religion, I cannot perfectly distin-'guish it; but is such that nothing keeps 'em 'friends but only the fear of exposing one an-'other's knavery. As for the Rabble, their Re-'ligion lies in cheating all they deal with. When

"you are dealing with 'em, you must look upon 'em as at cross purposes, and read 'em like 'Hebrew, backward; for they seldom speak and 'mean the same thing, but like Water-men, Look 'one Way and Row another. The Quakers here 'have been a suffering Generation; and there's 'hardly any of the Yea-and-Nay Persuasion but 'will give you a severe Account of it; for the 'Bostonians, tho' their Forefathers fled thither 'to enjoy Liberty of Conscience, are very un-'willing any should enjoy it but themselves: 'But they are now grown more moderate.' Again, on page 71: "Their Laws for Reforma-'tion of Manners, are very severe, yet but little 'regarded by the People, so at least as to make 'em better, or cause 'em to mend their manners." Again, on pages 73, 74: "In short, these Bos-'tonians enrich themselves by the ruine of 'strangers; and like ravenous Birds of Prey, 'strive who shall fasten his Tallons first upon 'em. For my own share I have already trusted 'out £400, and know not where to get in 2d. of 'it. But all these things pass under the Notion 'of Self-Preservation and Christian-Policy."

We have room for no more of Mr. Dunton's description of old New England, nor have we any disposition to revive the record of its peculiar traits of character in the days of the Fathers. We have not felt at liberty, however, when, as in this case, a New England association has placed a witness on the stand and endorsed him as *honest* and *trustworthy*, to allow him to leave it without a cross-examination on some subjects in which we have an interest; and we are quite as satisfied with the result as "P." and *The Evening Transcript* can be. "The Truth is mighty and "will prevail."

The Prince Society is doing good service in the cause of genuine History, in thus producing standard editions of authoritative works; and Mr. Whitmore has conducted this volume through the Press with his usual zeal and ability.

It is handsomely printed, and the edition numbered Two hundred and ten copies, Twenty of which were on large paper.

5.—*Microcosmography*; or, a Piece of the World Discov-ered, in Essays and Characters. By John Earle, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury; to which are added, Notes and an Appendix. By Philip Bliss. First American Edition, edited by L. L. Williams. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1867. 16mo, pp. xvi., 277. Price \$2.50.

This curious work was first printed in 1628, and had Six Editions during that century, under the pseudonym of EDWARD BLOUNT. Since then, several Editions have appeared; the last one in 1811, with Notes and Appendices, among which is a Bibliographical list of Books of this character. The present Edition is printed from a copy belonging to the library of the late John Taylor, and its variations from the First Edition are noted.

It describes Seventy-eight characters. "The language," says the Preface to the Edition of 1732, "is generally easy, and proves our English tongue not to be so very changeable as is commonly supposed. \* \* \* Here and there we meet with a broad expression, and some characters are far below others; nor is it to be expected that so great a variety of portraits should all be drawn with equal excellence; though there are scarce any without some masterly touches. The change of fashions casts a shade upon a few places, yet even those contain an exact picture of the age wherein they were written, as the rest does of mankind in general; for reflections founded upon nature will be just in the main, as long as men are men, though the particular instances of vice and folly may be diversified."

The character of the Author was delineated by Isaac Walton; and the Edition of his work which we are describing has been very carefully annotated and as carefully indexed.

6.—*Military Operations in Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia during the Revolution, chiefly compiled from the Journals and Letters of Colonel John Allan, with Notes and a Memoir of Colonel John Allan.* By Frederick Kidder, Albany: Joel Munsell, 1867. Octavo, pp. xi, 386. Price \$4.00.

The importance of the military operations on the Eastern frontier, during the War of the Revolution, is very little understood, because it is very little known. Mr. Kidder, therefore, has performed a very acceptable service, because of their importance, in bringing forward, even in a mutilated form, the papers which are contained in this work.

We are at a loss to understand, however, how so practical a man as Mr. Kidder is should have so far forgotten himself as to tinker his material, and thus leave his readers uncertain when they are reading Colonel Allan and when Mr. Kidder. If there is any value in what purports to be an original historical paper, as an authority, it is because that paper is supposed to furnish the best evidence, the most authentic, if not the most complete; and we are entitled, therefore, if we are permitted to use it at all, to use it in its purity, without Editorial pruning and without impertinent additions. No one knows this better than Mr. Kidder, yet he has "amended the Text" of these papers, he says, "so far as to correct *apparent errors* and to render the language in a few cases more explicit."

We like a refined taste in literature, yet we would not sacrifice, nor even jeopardize, the Truth to secure it; nor would we dare do more than add a note of explanation or illustration, when merely "*apparent errors*" seemed to impair the value of the text or obscurity of language seemed to have left in obscurity some interesting fact. In that, however, it seems, we differ from Mr.

Kidder; and we are contented to abide the judgment in the case of those who shall follow us.

The volume is from the press of the Albanian Disciple of Aldus, whose trade-mark is on the title-page; and it is, of course, well printed. The Edition numbered Two hundred and fifty copies.

7.—*The Invasion of Canada in 1775: including the Journal of Captain Simeon Thayer, describing the perils and sufferings of the army under Colonel Benedict Arnold, in his march through the wilderness to Quebec: with Notes and Appendix.* By Edwin Martin Stone, Providence: Knowles, Anthony & Co., Printers, 1867. Octavo, pp. xxiv., 104, with insets. Two pages each between pp. vi. and vii., 46 and 47; slips between pp. xx. and xxi., 56 and 57; and Six pages between pp. 102 and 103.

The industrious and painstaking Secretary of the Rhode Island Historical Society, in this volume, has furnished to students of our Revolutionary military history another exceedingly valuable collection of papers, and will secure from them their gratitude for his services.

The march through the wilderness has already found an unusually large number of historians, yet there is room for as many more, and all will be alike useful and welcome. Arnold, himself, kept a Journal of his operations which has been printed, either entire or in parts; and others by Henry, Heth, Melvin, Meigs, Senter, and Ware, have been printed while MSS. by McCoy, Haskell, Topham, Dearborn, Peirce, Badoux, Foucher, and Sanguinet, all yet unpublished, are known to have been written and in most cases have been preserved.

Captain Thayer, the writer of this particular Journal, was a native of Massachusetts, but a resident of Rhode Island. He participated in the old French War; was appointed a Captain in the Rhode Island line, in 1775; served with Arnold in Canada; was promoted to a Majority; served at Red Bank, under Colonel Greene, and at Fort Mifflin; fought at Monmouth and Springfield; and died in 1800.

The Journal before us possesses no particular literary merit; and is valuable only as an historical authority concerning one of the most interesting events of the War of the Revolution.

The Editor has discharged his duty with the greatest industry and fidelity; and, although we conceive that his conclusions are sometimes erroneous, and that injustice is sometimes done to worthy officers, we cannot withhold from him the credit which is justly his.

After a brief "Preface," Doctor Stone has given a Bibliography of the Expedition, in which reference is made to the literature of the subject with references to the inedited manuscripts—a good service which will not be soon forgotten by the working-men of the profession. An elaborate "Introduction" comes next, in which the operations in Canada are briefly described; and, with singular and unfortunate oversight, Arnold's

name is entirely omitted, although his capture of Crown Point and of the Two British vessels is elaborately described and the importance of that service is referred to. We think, also, that his allusion to Arnold, as particularly "the victim of a low moral sense," (p. ix.,) in the earlier days of his career, is peculiarly unhappy, when by far the greater number of his companions in arms were even greater victims of "a low moral sense" than he.

We recognize an Ode by George William Curtis, inserted at the close of the Journal, as an old acquaintance; and we are rather surprised that the excellent Editor of this volume has not credited the volume from which it was copied. It seems to us that so slight an acknowledgment would have been nothing more than just.

The "Appendix" is very complete; and herein Doctor Stone has fairly displayed his love of hard work—a series of biographical sketches of officers who were in this expedition; numerous illustrative Notes; lists of those who were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners before Quebec; Rosters of Companies; and an elaborate Index, being among the features of this portion of the volume which will most attract the student of History.

We cannot close this Notice without entering our Protest against the injustice which Doctor Stone has done to Colonel Samuel Smith, in denying to him any portion of the honor of defending the Mud Fort. We feel very sure that our friend, the Editor of the work before us, would have been the last to do injustice to the gallant Marylander, whom he has depreciated, had he seen the materials which have come down to this generation; and we shall take an early occasion to present to our readers some papers on this subject, which were placed in our hands some years since by Colonel Smith's son, for the purpose of vindicating the Truth of History in this matter.

The volume before us was printed for private circulation by the Editor; and is one of a hundred copies of which the Edition was composed.

8.—*Proceedings of a Board of General Officers respecting Major John André.* New York: Privately Printed, 1867. Octavo, pp. vi, 21.

We have here a magnificent *fac simile* of the original Edition of the Proceeding of the Court of Enquiry to which General Washington sent the case of Major André. It has been thus printed by the Bradstreet Press, exclusively for presents, the Edition numbering only Forty-nine copies; and, although our readers are familiar with its contents, from the copies which were issued by Mr. McCoy and in *The Gazette Series*, by ourself, the beauty of this re-print and the

fact that it is a *fac-simile* will render it a very choice addition to the fine books of those who may be fortunate enough to secure a copy.

It is printed with old-style type, of course; on laid, tinted paper; and has a handsomely rubricated title-page.

9.—*Letters and Journals relating to the War of the American Revolution, and the capture of the German troops at Saratoga.* By Mrs. General Riedesel. Translated from the original German, by William L. Stone. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1867. Octavo, pp. 285.

Every student of American history knows the interest which clusters around the Letters of Madame Riedesel, the heroic wife of the Baron who commanded the German troops in the Northern Campaign of 1777; and how much service they afford to every one who seeks a knowledge of that eventful period.

General Wilkinson first employed some of them, in a faulty translation; and, in 1827, the entire collection, also very inaccurately translated, was published in a small volume. In the beautiful volume before us, Mr. Stone has presented a new translation of the entire work; and, in doing so, his thorough knowledge of the German language has enabled him to detect and correct innumerable errors which had crept into the former translation. He has also enriched this version with Illustrative Notes, a good Index, a Sketch of the Life of the Baroness, and, not least, with a very fine Portrait of the lady, from a photograph of the original painting, furnished for that purpose by her family in Germany.

In this publication Mr. Stone has done a substantial service to American History; and Mr. Munsell has seldom turned out a volume which is more creditable to his skill as a printer. The Edition numbered Two hundred and fifty copies.

10.—*Address to the First Graduating Class of Rutgers Female College:* delivered in the Fourth avenue Presbyterian Church, (Dr. Crosby's) on Sabbath evening, June 20, 1867. By Henry M. Pierce, LL.D., President of the College. Published by request of the Trustees. New York: Agathiany Press. 1867. Octavo, pp. 19.

"What is the true position of *woman*, and what 'should be her education ?' are the very important subjects of this, so called, "Baccalaureate" "Address"—a very sensible subject, also, it would seem, for the occasion which demanded it. We fail, however, to find what we conceive to be the true answers to these questions; and consider Doctor Pierce's effort as altogether a failure.

If the Doctor is right, a young woman should learn just what her brothers learn, because she was not made to become the *slave* but the *equal* of her husband; but while we admit that the husband and the wife should be equals, we see no more reason, because of that, that she should be taught his Classics, and Engineering, and Law, than that he, for the same reason of their equality,

should be taught her Needlework, and Cookery, and Nursery songs.

The Doctor's teaching, therefore, is simply bosh. The education of woman, like that of man, should be adapted to the future of the scholar. It should be made to render her more intelligent and skillful in her peculiar duties: to qualify her the better to discharge the sacred duties of sister and daughter, of wife and mother: to develop the graces, to strengthen the mind, and to improve what nature had left unadorned.

We should be glad, also, to know just why an *Address* to a party of young women is called a *Baccalaureate* Address. Was it because the Doctor was a Bachelor; or because it was delivered when divers other *Baccalaureate* addresses are apt to be made—"on Sabbath evening?"

The copy before us is a very handsome specimen of printing, on laid, tinted paper, with rubricated title-page; and is highly creditable to the young establishment which printed it. It is intended, we understand, for private circulation.

11.—*A treatise on Emotional Disorders of the Sympathetic system of Nerves.* By William Murray, M.D., M. R. C. P., Lond. New York: A. Simpson & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. viii, 95.

A great many of the diseases to which mankind is liable are due to emotional disturbance; and Doctor Murray considers the subject with intelligence and discrimination. His book is well calculated to instruct men and women in the proper management of their emotions, and is a safe guide to the treatment of those affections which arise from a failure to keep them in due subjection.

To a great extent this entire matter has heretofore been in the hands of quacks who have derived their greatest profit from fleecing ignorant and unwary persons afflicted with emotional diseases; and we rejoice that a gentleman of Doctor Murray's skill and standing has taken it from their grasp.

12.—*Ninth Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, for the year 1866-7.* In two parts. New York: J. W. Amerman, 1867. Octavo, Part I, pp. xvi, 112, 182; Part II, pp. 182.

The yearly volumes of this ancient corporation contain a vast amount of exceedingly important information which cannot be obtained elsewhere; yet they are seldom seen in the libraries of students, or elsewhere than among the neglected literature of the counting-room. This should not be so; and we earnestly hope that the Chamber will be more widely sustained in its useful work by those who may be most indebted to its invaluable collections.

In the neatly-printed volume before us we have the Minutes of the Chamber, for the year ending with May, 1867; a list of members of the Corporation—headed by Hickson W. Field, Esq.,

who was elected on the first of July, 1817; a list of its officers during the past hundred years; its By-laws, donations to its Library, reports on the introduction of Capital and Men into the Southern States; on the Banquet to Cyrus W. Field; on the Tax on Cotton; on the reception of the Brazilian and Argentine Ambassadors; on the Usury Laws; on the Wharves and Piers of the city; a series of Fourteen Trade Reports, and another of Twenty-six statistical articles of Trade and Commerce, all of which are elaborately constructed and possess great value.

With the exception of *The Manual of the Corporation*, by our venerable friend, Mr. Valentine, there is no series of volumes connected with the City of New York which we esteem as highly as the *Annual Reports of the Chamber of Commerce*, because there is no other from which we can learn so much.

18.—*Pawlet for One hundred years.* By Hiel Hollister. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1867. Duodecimo, pp. iv, 284. Price \$2.50.

The Author of this neat little volume is a working man; and "in the intervals of severe and exacting manual labor, he has gathered the material for this work, and collated and grouped them together in their present form."

The plan which he has adopted is a good one, since by giving a series of independent articles, each embracing the history of some particular subject, there is less confusion and more methodical completeness; and the Author seems to have left little undone which he ought to have done in such an undertaking.

We have seldom examined a local history which has so completely satisfied us, as this.

14.—*The early years of his Royal Highness the Prince Consort.* Compiled, under the direction of Her Majesty, the Queen, by Lieutenant-general, the Hon. C. Grey. New York: Harper & Bros., 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 371.

Our readers have undoubtedly seen the very extended extracts from this volume, taken from the English papers, which have gone the rounds of the Press; and those who have glanced over those extracts will not require any information concerning the character of the work. To others, we have only to remark that it relates to the life of Prince Albert, from his birth until the birth of his oldest child, the Princess Royal of England; and includes his infancy and childhood, his education and amusements, his courtship and marriage with the Queen, and the incidents of the first year of his married life.

It is compiled from his Journals and Correspondence, the Journal of the Queen, and Memoranda furnished by her; and if the widowed monarch did not herself write it, it was written under her own eye, from knowledge which she

furnished, and not unfrequently in her own words—the translations were made entirely, if we do not mistake, by her daughter, the Princess Helena.

Of course, the accuracy of the narrative is beyond dispute; and it is matter of surprise that the Queen has found courage enough to lay before the world, thus authenticated, the details of her courtship and marriage, and subsequent life, even among a People which is noted for its devotion; although its importance, from a historical stand-point, cannot be too highly estimated, as original material of the greatest importance; and every student of English History, through all time, will remember her bravery with the deepest gratitude.

Nor is this the only reason that the volume is important. We have grown up to respect Victoria, as a woman, a wife, and a mother, as we respect few others; and a perusal of this narrative has confirmed our respect and led us to admire, still more than before, the unaffected simplicity and the purity of her character, even in the midst of temptations and hypocrisy, and senseless display.

We are sure our readers will find as much pleasure in reading this work as we have done; and the beauty of the typography will render it a welcome guest in any parlor.

15.—*The Life of William Woodbridge.* By Charles Lanman. Washington: Blanchard & Mohun, 1867. Octavo, pp. 236.

Governor Woodbridge of Michigan, one of the Pioneers of "the great West," was one of the race of Giants who lived and governed the Republic in the days of our boyhood; and Mr. Lanman has presented in this volume, a well-written Memoir of his life, a selection from his Correspondence, and some specimens of his learning—the latter in Three *Addresses* delivered by him at different dates.

As Mr. Woodbridge was the first Territorial Secretary and a Whig, the first Territorial Governor (Cass), who was a political opponent, has fared badly in more than one page of Mr. Woodbridge's papers; yet we are not prepared to deny nor even to doubt his correctness, in any respect, nor even to deny that his evident animosity against General Cass was entirely justifiable. We do regret, however, that in a volume which is essentially a History of Michigan, during the most eventful period of her existence, there has not been presented a detailed account of the secret history which led to the organization of a State Government in Detroit and to its exercise of every function of a State Government, for several months before Michigan was admitted into the Union, or even recognized by Congress—rather a severe dose for those wiseacres who talk so glibly about the Sovereignty of the Federal Government.

Mr. Lanman has certainly made a very interesting volume and its importance, as material for history, cannot be questioned.

16.—*The Carver Centenary;* an account of the celebration by the Minnesota Historical Society, of the One hundredth Anniversary of the Council and Treaty of Captain Jonathan Carver with the Naudowessies, on May 1, 1761, at the "Great Cave," [now within the limits of the City of Saint Paul, Minnesota,] held May 1, 1867. Saint Paul: Pioneer Office, 1867. Octavo, pp. 24.

This is a very interesting account of the reunion of the members of the Society, on the occasion of a local anniversary in May last.

It opens with a minute description of the celebrated Cave in which the Treaty was made, in 1761; and this is followed with a narrative of the proceedings of the Society, including a very well-written paper, by Rev. John Mattocks, on *The Life and Travels of Jonathan Carver.*

The pamphlet is printed on tinted paper, at the expense of George W. Fahnestock, Esq., of Philadelphia; and the Edition numbered Two hundred and fifty copies.

17.—*Ninth Annual Statement of the Trade and Commerce of Chicago, for the year ending March 31, 1867, reported to the Chicago Board of Trade,* by John F. Beatty, Secretary. Chicago: Horton & Leonard, 1867. Octavo, pp. 146.

In this volume we have the wonderful record of the rise and progress of that "Trade and Commerce" which, within Twenty-seven years, has transformed Chicago from a mere military outpost, with Seventy inhabitants, into a mighty municipality of nearly a quarter of a million souls; with a shipment of Seventy-eight bushels of grain, in 1838, to one of Sixty-six million, seven hundred and thirty-six thousand, six hundred and sixty-nine bushels, in 1866.

Such a volume, crowded with statistics, and bristling with stern facts, is as formidable against mere theorists as "an army with banners," and we know no more important volume to the collector of "local histories." We shall esteem it a particular favor if the preceding volumes of the series, or any of them, can be furnished to us by any of our readers.

18.—*The Railway.* Remarks at Belfast, Maine, July 4, 1867, by John A. Poor. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. 61.

We have been favored by our respected friend, the Author, with a copy of this beautiful pamphlet, and have read it with considerable interest.

It seems to have been a Fourth of July Address, and contains some political paragraphs; yet the burden of the song is the "The Railway," its general advantages as an agent of civilization, and, locally, as an instrument for the improvement of the territory through which it passes.

It is well written, well sustained by authorities, and well enforced by argument.

The pamphlet is well printed, as all bearing Little, Brown & Co's imprint are.

19.—*Alec Forbes of Howglen.* A novel. By George MacDonald. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1867. Octavo, pp. 171. 75 cents.

20.—*No man's friend.* A novel. By Frederic William Robinson. New York: Harper & Bros., 1867. Octavo, pp. 180. 75 cents.

21.—*Called to account.* A novel. By Miss Annie Thomas. New York: Harper & Bros., 1867. Octavo, pp. 152. 50 cents.

Nos. 294, 495, and 296 of *The Library of Standard Novels* are here presented to the American reading public by the enterprising Publishers in Franklin-square.

The first is a Scotch story, based on the customs, manners, and sentiments of North Britain. There is no intricacy of plot in the work; but the earnestness of the Author and the individuality of its characters give strength to the work beyond the usual measure.

The others are also by leading novelists of Europe; and their cheapness will ensure for them an extended circulation, both in town and country.

22.—*Harpers' Writing Books.* Symmetrical Penmanship with Marginal Drawing Lessons, for Schools and Families. New York: Harper & Bros. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Horace Mann said he believed a child will learn both to draw and write sooner, and with more ease than he will learn writing alone; and these books are based on that very sensible proposition.

Along the margin of each page there is a series of drawing lessons; and the theory which the Author proposes for imparting a knowledge of drawing is also peculiar, but exceedingly sensible.

It is undoubtedly the most valuable series of writing books that we have yet seen.

23.—*Thirty-five miles around Richmond, Virginia.* Compiled by Jed. Hotchkiss, Top. Engineer, Staunton, Va., 1867. Washington, D. C.: C. Bohm.

We have received from the Author a copy of this very useful Map, in pocket-book form.

It is from actual surveys made during the war, by the Engineers of the Confederate and Federal officers; and its Author, who was the Topographical Engineer of the Second Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia—"Stonewall" Jackson's—has done good service by noting the roads, streams, post-offices, churches, fortifications, etc., in this notable neighborhood.

Its accuracy is recognized by the local press of all parties; and it must be exceeding useful to the student because of the completeness of its details.

## 2.—MISCELLANY.

THE FIRELANDS PIONEER.—In our last number we referred to this excellent work, and regretted that Title-pages and Indices are not furnished with the complete volumes.

We have since been informed that Volumes III. and VII. contained these useful portions of the work, collectively, for the volumes which respectively preceded them; and that a similar *general* Title-page and Index for Volumes VIII., IX., X., and probably XI., will be printed with One of the latter Two. We earnestly hope that the publishers will so far change their plan as to make each volume perfect in itself, by giving to each its appropriate Title-page and Index.

The public, for many months past, have been led to believe (from wide spread advertisements) that the Hon. ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, of Georgia, was writing a Southern History of the War, and the same would soon be issued. To convince the public that Mr. Stephens is not writing a History of the War, and the publishing of his meditated work on the causes and results of the war is in the *distant future*, we have only to quote from a letter from William Swinton, author of *Army of the Potomac, &c., &c.*, and special correspondent of the *New York Times*, who has recently visited the distinguished Statesman:

[From the *New York Daily Times*, July 22, 1867.]

"CRAWFORDVILLE, GA., July 10th, 1867.  
 \* \* \* \* "Mr. Stephens immediately opened "the subject of the war \* \* \* \* As you may be "aware, he is engaged in writing a work on the "War between the States." It is, however, as I "gather, to be a MONOGRAPH RATHER THAN A "HISTORY, and will treat only of special points "in the cause, conduct, and results of the war of "secession. *He shrinks from the amount of "morbid anatomy that would be required in a "complete history.* Stephens is perhaps the only "man who could, if he would, write the secret, "internal history of the Confederacy, and as he "is not so minded, a great deal of it will die "with him. The work on which he is now engaged cannot fail to possess a very high value; "it need not, however, be looked for soon, as it is "yet in no considerable degree of forwardness."

—Marshall, favorably known by his portrait of President Lincoln, is now engaged in engraving a likeness of General Grant.

—*Case and his Contemporaries* is the title of a new biographical history of early Methodism in Canada, soon to be issued at the Wesleyan Book Room in Toronto. It is written by Rev. John Carroll, and will contain a fine portrait of Rev. William Case, the pioneer itinerant of Canadian Methodism.